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'Thousands' Raid Food Aid in Permet

AU2410154791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Anastas Naqe]

[Text] The French humanitarian association Equilibre, which is financed by the EEC, sent a group of representatives to the town of Permet two months ago to distribute food aid to that district and to Tepelene. During that period, a considerable amount of goods, such as flour, sugar, rice, and oil arrived, amounting to 300 tonnes, not to mention several tonnes of clothing and medicines. The representatives of Equilibre responsibly and carefully began to pack the goods for distribution, first to the villages and then to the towns. That began in an orderly manner, and the aid was distributed equitably in the villages of Ballaban, Las, Bubes, Suke, Katundishte, Frasher, and elsewhere.

As everything was proceeding normally and without a hitch, something that nobody desired occurred at about 1830 yesterday. Groups of people headed for the food-storage areas and tried to break into them. The forces of order intervened immediately and calmed the situation somewhat. Later, in total darkness, the crowds increased to thousands of people. When they met the resistance of the forces of order, individuals began to throw stones and bricks, wounding nine policemen. The police were unable to act and sought to avoid a confrontation. People broke into the depot and began to seize food and take it home. This went on until midnight, when no goods were left in the storehouse. There were also organized thefts, using large and small vehicles. When we asked the forces of order how many of the organizers had been arrested, we learned that not a single person has been detained.

This incident has deeply outraged the masses of honest people. This morning we heard many people saying: What a disgrace. Such phenomena are indeed on the increase in Permet, where, as the saying goes, not a grain of wheat is ever stolen. This serious situation is created by a small number of people who wish to compromise democracy. Amazingly, people stand on the sidelines. Fear and insecurity have risen among the civilized public. What is going on? People just watch. When will the day come for the law to be enforced?

Tirana BSPSh Supports Puke General Strike

AU2410185491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Union of Independent Trade Unions [BSPSh] in Tirana District is following with close concern and attention the general strike of working people in Puke District and considers their demands fair and legitimate. The Tirana BSPSh supports the strike of these working people, and demands urgent measures from the government to meet their demands.

PD Aktiv Discusses Election Date, Strategies

AU2410215591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Democratic Party [PD] held its first national aktiv in the lecture hall of the Institute of Construction Technology this morning.

Mr. Eduard Selami, secretary of the PD Managing Committee, opened the proceedings, presenting a realistic analysis of the PD's stand and activities in relation to the statement of the bloc of opposition parties. He concentrated especially on the serious economic and social situation and its consequences and dangers for establishing full democracy, also ascribing causes and responsibilities, especially the responsibility of the Public Order Ministry for the highly disturbing state of the public peace.

Mr. Arben Imami concentrated especially on the question of the election date, proposing either December of this year or March 1992. Dr. Sali Berisha emphasized that the PD is at a historic turning point in its struggle to eradicate communism from Albania, a struggle that implies not a struggle against people or their persecution but a struggle against communist convictions, practices, and platforms and against communist rule. This is also vital for the sake of the great policy of national conciliation announced for the first time by the PD under the motto: an opposition, but brothers. He spoke in favor of bringing the election date as far forward as possible.

Safet Gjylali, Dr. Gramoz Pashko, Genc Ruli, Agron Cika, Ndricim Allahi, Merita Zaloshnja, Ismet Ferizaj, Azem Hajdari, Leke Hajdari, and others spoke at the afternoon session.

Dr. Pashko said that the unstable situation does not favor advancing the election date. He reminded those present of the strikes that have now started and proposed that the PD should not support demands that are beyond all powers of the government to solve.

Genc Ruli stressed that bringing forward the elections would not give the PD a certain prospect of victory, and that it is a good thing for the country not to enter a governmental or legislative crisis in this difficult economic and social situation. He supported Dr. Berisha's call for the PD to combat the economic mafia and state corruption.

Mr. Azem Hajdari, deputy chairman of the PD Managing Committee, also spoke about some of the main problems raised in the speeches. He spoke about the PD's short-term and long-term strategies and devoted special attention to the duties facing the party's members in implementing the economic reform. He also reemphasized the PD's unswerving stand regarding the president.

People's Assembly Discusses Economic Reform

AU2410140791 Tirana ATA in English 0921 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 24 (ATA)—During October 23 sitting, discussions were held in the plenary sitting of the People's Assembly by deputies on the report submitted on behalf of the government by Gramoz Pashko, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the transition of the Albanian economy onto the market economy.

The deputies adopted in principle the program forwarded by the government for the economic reform and made remarks and suggestions to better complete the framework of this reform concentrating in particular on the stability and maintenance of public tranquillity at home without which the reform cannot be realised completely and all-sidedly. They discussed extensively on the problems preoccupying the zones whose representatives they are. Regarding the countryside they insisted that the government should adopt more efficient measures to accelerate the distribution of the land, to set up the branches of agricultural banks, the supply with chemical fertilizers and other material technical base, etc.

At the end, the Premier Ylli Bufi took the floor. After pointing out the great responsibility of the government for the successful application of the reform he demanded among others that the reform should also be backed up by the parliament, by all the political forces, trade unions and different organizations. He also laid the stress on their commitment for the solution of all the problems emerging during the application of this reform which is the only alternative to come out of the crisis, to establish complete democracy in Albania.

Then the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Kastriot Islami proposed to vote for the program of the economic reform. The program was unanimously adopted by all the deputies present.

The People's Assembly continues its proceedings.

Agriculture Ministry on Slow Land Distribution

AU2310161291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Agriculture Ministry statement issued in Tirana on 22 October]

[Text] The Land Law is not being enforced with the proper speed, especially in some large districts. For example, according to the Agriculture Ministry's data, peasants in Shkoder District have received only 940 hectares of the 35,000 hectares to be distributed; Korce District has distributed 2,000 hectares out of 47,000 hectares; Fier District has distributed 3,500 hectares out of 49,500 hectares. The three aforementioned districts alone account for about one-fourth of the land to be distributed to the peasantry nationwide. The excuses that the land is not being divided according to the old boundaries do not hold water when examined at specific district, regional, and village levels.

According to the data of the Land Registry, 60 percent of the plain of Nenshkoder used to be the property of city merchants. In some villages, such Kuc, Grude, and so forth, only three or four of the families resident in the villages possessed land recognized by title deeds. The remainder of the land was the property of city merchants or of those who now no longer live in the villages. If the land in the villages of this district were divided according to the old boundaries or those that existed just before collectivization as a result of changes of residence or migration to the towns, 80-85 percent of the families who live in the countryside today would receive less land than if it were divided on the basis of the law approved by the People's Assembly. Explanations of this kind should be provided elsewhere. The village land commissions and the pluralist executive committees, using the existing documentation, should stand firm against the pressure exerted by a small number of peasants and those citizens who wish to speculate and make a profit during this period of instability.

The Agriculture Ministry is trying to explain through facts and figures that it is in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry to enforce the Land Law as soon possible. This is only the beginning of the reform in the countryside. It is accompanied by laws and other measures to ensure that the countryside is not abandoned. Establishing the ownership of the land as soon as possible and putting it in peasants' hands will give the state more opportunities to provide support with loans, machinery, selected seeds and livestock breeds, veterinary services, and other forms of material assistance. The current difficulties must not under any circumstances become an obstacle to the progress of the reform that has just begun in the countryside.

Zhelev, Yeltsin Issue Declaration on Relations

AU2410163791 Sofia BTA in English 1523 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Russia recognize the generally accepted provisions of international law and will help consolidate security and cooperation in Europe. A joint statement by Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev, who was on a three-day visit to Moscow, and Russia's President Boris Yeltsin confirms the right of all nations to decide their future freely and without external intervention. The statement has been submitted for publication here.

The document expresses the two countries' wish to develop cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, technological and other spheres. It gives special attention to the improvement of the mechanism of economic cooperation. The two presidents express the desire to retain, "as long as necessary" the traditional economic and trade relations which have proved their importance for the two countries.

The administrative bodies will maintain regular contacts at different levels. Attention is focused on interparliamentary contacts.

The statement expresses the two presidents' wish for simplifying administrative procedures related to the establishment of contacts among individuals, political parties and various organizations of the two countries.

The document stresses the necessity to create favourable conditions for the development of modern forms of economic cooperation and the need to use market-based structures.

It was agreed to sign a protocol on consultations between the foreign ministries of the two countries.

According to the joint statement, Bulgaria and Russia will sign a treaty on goodneighbourliness and cooperation in the near future.

Official Says Arms Shipment Destined for Iran

AU2410131491 Sofia BTA in English 0904 GMT 24 Oct 91

[From BTA review of Sofia press on 24 October]

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—The Greek Cypriot ship Cape Malea was loaded in Burgas in implementation of a perfectly legal intergovernmental agreement of 1989, Mr. Filip Filipov, secretary of the special governmental commission for control over arms production and trade, told "DUMA." No chemicals that can be used for the production of harmful substances were loaded in Burgas, Mr. Filipov asserted. He presumes that the ship has made another stop to load the chemical substances in question and that this is the reason why its captain did not fill in the required customs documents when passing through the Bosporus.

In Burgas the Cape Malea was loaded with military equipment for the Ministry of Defence of Iran, Mr. Tsanko Tsanev, director of the Burgas Customs Office, told "24 CHASA." The cargo included 2,000 cases of military equipment and spares and a certain amount of zinc, Mr. Tsanev explained. The deal was made by the Kintex Trade Company and is perfectly legal. The ship was also carrying transit cargo which had been loaded in Italy.

Iranian Envoy Confirms Destination

AU2410202591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The weapons discovered in the Greek-Cypriot vessel that was intercepted on 22 October in the Bosphorus were destined for the Iranian Army, the Iranian ambassador to Ankara said, according to the ANATOLIA NEWS AGENCY.

Quoting the attorney of the C.S. Shipping Cypriot Company, which owns the company, ANATOLIA reports that the vessel was chartered by the Iranian Government for transporting the weapons that were loaded in Burgas to Iran. According to ANATOLIA, on 23 October the Iranian ambassador to Ankara visited the Turkish Foreign Ministry and declared that the cargo on board the arrested vessel belongs to Iran.

Brezhnev 'Plan' for Joint Occupation of Turkey

AU2410140891 Sofia BTA in English 1106 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—Former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev offered his Bulgarian counterpart Todor Zhivkov a plan for a blitz occupation of Turkey, today's "24 CHASA" writes, quoting a Bulgarian military officer.

According to the daily, the Bulgarian officer was told about the plan by a Soviet officer at a "party" in 1975. At that time the Bulgarian tank brigade in Gorna Banya was armed with Soviet-made T-72 Ural tanks.

A Soviet instructor who was teaching the Bulgarian military how to operate the new tanks told Captain Dragomir Draganov, the commander of a tank battalion, that Mr. Brezhnev offered Bulgaria to "take" the European part of Turkey. [sentence as received] The other part would be turned into a "Turkish SSR." Brezhnev even suggested that Edirne be renamed "Zhivkovgrad." Todor Zhivkov, however, opposed the occupation plan and explained that the balance in the Balkans would be disturbed.

The daily does not specify whether there was any drinking at the 1975 "party," something traditional in the "comradeship-in-arms" between the fraternal armies.

Instead, "24 CHASA" carries additional details about the plan in question. The strategic concept was the

gaining of complete superiority in the Middle East and Southwest Asia by the USSR and the final elimination of the U.S. influence there.

According to Soviet Captain Glushchenko, the Bulgarian Army was supposed to surprise and "block" Turkey's First Army deployed in its European part. The Soviet Army's task would have been to block the Third and Fourth Armies, deployed along the borders with the USSR and Iraq, by a "heavy landing of troops." The final aim: to occupy Turkey in a week.

It is generally known that at that time Brezhnev's mental health was already deteriorating and the military had gained an immense influence over the Soviet policy. Four years later the Soviet troops occupied Afghanistan, the daily writes in conclusion.

SDS's Yordanov on Forming Government With DPS

AU2410195091 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 18 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Aleksandur Yordanov, deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Konstantsa Ancheva; place and date not given: " Ambition for Power Makes a Poor Counselor"]

[Text] [Ancheva] What are the difficulties in forming a government?

[Yordanov] A government is not only a result of political deals. Many factors also play a role in its formation: the social problems in the country, problems to do with the people's psychological make-up—in general, everything attendant to forming a government in posttotalitarian conditions. This cannot be a question of a simple political deal.

[Ancheva] From the recent news conferences of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], I get the impression that you have the formula for the birth of the executive power.

[Yordanov] More than anything else, the SDS expects sensible people to enter the legislature, people whose main concern is the interests of the people. This is why they are elected as people's deputies and not simply as representatives of different sectors of the Bulgarian population. They ought to have as their initial task the development of the democratic process, which this year will mainly be reflected in legislation to do with changing the economic system. The ministers will simply be an instrument of the laws and will increase their influence and activities to the extent that the legislature succeeds in creating democratic legislation. In my opinion, ambition for a ministerial seat at this specific time in history is a poor counselor because it will be the laws and not the ministers that govern Bulgaria.

[Ancheva] Do you have in mind the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]?

[Yordanov] If the DPS is an organization that puts the law and legislative activities before anything else, then it will prefer working in the legislature to any ministerial desks. It is extremely important for people to understand that the political parties and organizations do not seek power simply for its own sake but, in fact, view it as an unavoidable evil through which people's lives must be improved. I believe that the DPS will realize this.

[Ancheva] The DPS spokesman has made statements in connection with this. Would you like to comment on them?

[Yordanov] There is another side to this question. It is perhaps connected to the mentality of some of the members of this movement's leadership. I would say that the Marxist view of life, which divides society into groups and classes, predominates in the minds of some of them. This is reflected in some of this movement's political activities. As far back as last year, I noticed that group thinking prevailed over thinking in the way that democratic processes require. The elementary truth is that individual human rights must first be settled and safeguarded and that conditions must be created for them to be exercised. Rearranging democratic order and accentuating collective rights lead to unnecessary chaos. Until the individual rights contained in the Constitution—most important, the right of ownership—become an actual legislative right, I believe that Bulgaria will not enter its democratic period. It is still on the border of totalitarianism and democracy—that is, posttotalitarianism.

[Ancheva] Do you believe that these arguments will convince the DPS leaders?

[Yordanov] These are the arguments of commonsense and normal political thinking. From here onward, everything depends on the DPS leaders because the people who voted for them voted for democracy in Bulgaria, for a more affluent, more peaceful life. In no way did they vote for confrontation.

SDS Affirms Need for DPS Support in Assembly

AU2410214791 Sofia PRAVA I SVOBODI in Bulgarian 18 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Article by Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces]

[Text] We must accept the responsibility. We will have great need of support. The small number of daring SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] members who joined the previous government literally had to clean the Augean stables of communism. This naturally resulted in all kinds of negative consequences, for which they were blamed. Very often, we were even told that our participation in the government would put people off and make them think that the SDS was responsible for their hardships. However, it turned out that people are not so naive and can decide who is the source of their troubles. There were times when accusations and cries of disapproval were made against us, but I would say that this is in the normal order of things. The new government will also receive rebukes and accusations, but the important thing is to know that we are trying to achieve something. We

will have many tricky moments in the complex situation in which the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] will be in opposition and will continue to try to pull the strings.

The link to the past is a good reminder. We will inevitably return to it because there is no alternative. We cannot fail to remember the past when we want to restore to people what the Communist Party stole from them, all the more so because we have to restore to the state the property that this party stole or acquired illegally.

I could say, if you like that we cannot fail to remember the past when crimes are being brought to book. All of this is inevitable! It is the background against which we have to build our present reality. Previously, the state merged with the party, and government was irresponsible.

Our government will not be like the previous one. We seek power in order to limit it in a simple way—not by putting the brakes on this power but by creating private property, which means the independence of the individual. It is not necessary for the government to pat someone on the back in order for him to be able to earn his daily bread. In the legislature, we will make decisions as a political force, and we will put them into effect by legislative means. Now we come to the question of the government; it is clear that it will have to be a coalition one.

We will expect legislative support from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. The position adopted by the DPS contains a specific factor, connected with the defense of human rights. I think that the SDS has provided sufficient proof that it defends these rights, irrespective of people's ethnic affiliation. This legislature will be polarized, and this very fact should frighten us. It stands to reason that, if, like the Communist Party, a political force shows a tendency to violate human rights, promote ethnic or religious enmity, and make use of the tension arising in connection with these problems, it will receive no support. If I were in the position of the DPS, I would certainly vote with the SDS in the new legislature.

SDS Leader Denies Links to Socialists

AU2410204991 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 19/20 Oct 91 p 6

[Interview with Aleksandur Yordanov, deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Venelina Gocheva; place and date not given: "Aleksandur Yordanov: 'The Proportional System Was Dertliev's Dream'"]

[Text] [Gocheva] Mr. Yordanov, how will you reply to the allegations made of common interests between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] against the political forces left out of the legislature?

[Yordanov] This electoral system was not adopted by the SDS but was developed mainly by the Communist Party with the active participation of those who are now designated the SDS-Center and the SDS-Liberals. Dr. Petur Dertliev and Stefan Gaytandzhiev played a fundamental role here. The SDS legislative group was insisting on a majority system where one voted for personalities and not party colors. Dr. Dertliev always insisted on a system for party colors. The election results, however, showed that the people live with an awareness of a majority election. They had to choose between two forces that symbolized democracy and nondemocracy. This turned the elections into one-party, majority-system elections.

[Gocheva] What doomed the SDS-Liberals and the SDS-Center to failure in this party-majority system, as you call it?

[Yordanov] The electoral system was not responsible for the fact that the SDS-Center and the SDS-Liberals remained below the 4-percent barrier. I acknowledge the fact that they conducted their campaign very well, but they repeated the mistake that the opposition made last year. In the past two weeks of their campaign, they began attacks on the SDS-National Movement, as they called it.

[Gocheva] You are suspected of having had intimate connections with the BSP at the time when you received the blue party list that led to judicial wrangles.

[Yordanov] That is ridiculous if you bear in mind the Communists' attitude precisely toward the SDS.

[Gocheva] Vladimir Sotirov believes that the SDS intentionally hindered the unification of the SDS-Center with the SDS-Liberals.

[Yordanov] The SDS has no relation whatsoever with the internal affairs of the Centrists and the Liberals. If they had competed without the SDS abbreviation, they would have exceeded the 4-percent barrier.

[Gocheva] Was this barrier, which is now being criticized by those not in the legislature, useful?

[Yordanov] If the barrier had not been there, we would have had at least another 10-15 parties and groupings in the legislature. They would have had to search for an identity for several months, turning the National Assembly into a big talking shop, and there simply is not time for this. We must quickly adopt economic laws that guarantee a change in the system. That is why we need people with legislative experience, and, however strange

it may sound, these people can be found in the legislative groups of the BSP and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

[Gocheva] Mr. Yordanov, are you sorry that the National Assembly has no independent deputies?

[Yordanov] The only possibility the independents had of gaining a legislative seat was if a way existed of including them in the party lists of the big political forces through a social agreement drawn up between the candidate and the party.

[Gocheva] Do you not suspect that the BSP was aiming for exactly this preelection result?

[Yordanov] It was exactly this result that the Communists also wanted last year, but that time the BSP won the elections without wanting to. The party apparatus simply exceeded its own possibilities. At the moment it is not exactly like this. I was expecting the BSP's result to be about 25-28 percent. The higher result can be put down to the impression created in society of a split in the SDS. Bulgarians do not tolerate those who do not keep their house in order. The BSP's scandals were quieter and behind thick walls.

Yordanov on BZNS Failure To Enter Legislature

AU2410155691 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 18 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Statement by Aleksandur Yordanov, deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, to Zhechka Danailova, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME reporter; place and date not given: "Political Failures Are Part of Democratic Rotation"]

[Text] I have always been a supporter of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and have had sympathy for those BZNS members who profess real agrarian ideas. I respect Ivan Glushkov, whom I know very well from the National Assembly. Throughout the entire period that he was in the legislature, he demonstrated the character of a real politician.

I have the impression that, precisely during the preelection period, other political ambitions became predominant within the BZNS.

The second explanation for the failure of the BZNS to enter the legislature is related to the fact that the Nikola Petkov BZNS left the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. If the Nikola Petkov BZNS had remained within the SDS, the difference between that party and the BZNS-United would have been more clearly pronounced.

However, I do not exclude the possibility of joint actions and coordination of political interests on the part of the SDS and the BZNS. This will be a reality. The SDS does not intend to surround itself with a Chinese wall in the National Assembly or turn the National Assembly into a fortress. We shall maintain contacts with all serious political formations, and the BZNS-United remains such a serious political formation.

We would prefer to have seen the BZNS-United in the legislature. It is my belief that this party must be a real partner in the government and in the legislature because it already has rich legislative experience from last year.

Without the BZNS-United in the legislature, it will be both more difficult and easier. Occasionally, laws will depend on a vote or two, and I take into consideration the possibility that crises may deliberately be provoked in the legislature. However, this situation will also have certain advantages—things will be easier now. There will be less talking and fewer alternative variants—two factors that used to make the atmosphere in the legislature foggy. In any event, I expect that the bipolar situation will develop further.

BSP To Hold Congress 'First Half of December'

AU2410203191 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—The senior leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) decided to hold the 40th Congress of the BSP in the first half of December, the BSP Press Centre announced. The plenum of the BSP Supreme Council started yesterday [23 October] morning and lasted until late night. The participants discussed the Socialists' new position after the elections: The BSP is in opposition for the first time since 1944.

"There were different views on the elections," the Press Centre announced without giving any details on the statements and the atmosphere of the closed-doors plenum. At the congress the Socialists will hear a report by BSP Chairman Aleksandur Lilov "On the Party's Political Line in the New Situation and the Further Change of the BSP." The congress will also discuss a report on the party's property and funds. The congress is the only body which can replace the Socialists' leader.

Podkrepa Influence in Forming New Cabinet Derided

AU2510092991 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Oct 91 p 1

[Commentary by Petur Minev: "Two Feet in Same Boot"]

[Text] We learned with particularly great pleasure that the two ministers Messrs. Kostov and Pushkarov, whom we greatly respect and for whom we cherish not only familial but also sublime feelings because their names are frequently mentioned in family, professional, and friendly circles, will preserve their posts in the new Cabinet. It became clear that our iron minister of finance has received permission for this from "Garibaldi"

Square. That is to say, not from the square itself and from Garibaldi but from the president of the Podkrepa Labor confederation. Furthermore, all this took place without any apparent difficulty.

The situation with Mr. Pushkarov is a bit more complicated. It appears that he will have to apologize to the miners because of his attempt to defend state interests without consulting the people he was supposed to consult. It seems that the minister is a proud man, but, as the French king once said, Paris is worth a Mass. Thus, there is hope that he, too, will have no problems.

It appears that we will have to part with Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev. Poor, poor Ludzhev! Why did you have to challenge the trade unions' Generalissimo? Now, if you want to join the Cabinet, you will have to step over Dr. Trenchev's dead body, as he himself recently put it. You will certainly agree that even the chair of the deputy prime minister is not worth a murder, even if the victim is the aforementioned person....

This is how it is!

Nevertheless, there still remains another unclear thing: "Because Podkrepa approves and appoints the ministers, which means that it could also remove them, does it mean that it already is the official trade union?" Is it already "the guiding and moving force of our society," as another organization used to be called in the recent past?

Central Bank Regulates Rate of Dollar

AU2410142891 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 91 p 4

[Report by Slavka Bozukova and Zdravko Popov: "For Time Being, Bulgarian National Bank Will Not Release Dollars Into Market"]

[Text] In an attempt to regulate the rate of the Bulgarian leva, dollars from the third tranche of the IMF credit will not be released into the market, Prof. Todor Vulchev, governor of the Bulgarian National Bank, said. He thus killed the hope of bringing down the dollar rate.

The Bulgarian National Bank will await the natural development on the market. Because the dollar increase lags behind the pace of inflation, however, Mr. Vulchev thinks that the rate is unrealistic and that the Bulgarian leva will hardly become any cheaper.

In March, the National Bank released a large number of dollars into the market, and the rate was artificially brought down to 14 leva. Obviously, this will not happen again. The dealers, however, think that the dollar will hardly go up.

The 20-day preelection demand for U.S. dollars is over. Last week the dollar supply and demand on the part of the commercial banks was relatively balanced. The significant intervention of the central bank, which released more than $10 million into the market within five days, prevented the commercial banks—market makers—from maintaining the dollar's selling rate at 20 leva, as some dealers envisaged.

In the coming week, the dollar rate will increase slightly but not cross the 20-leva barrier, the dealers think. The payment of monthly wages will force some of the companies to sell dollars, and this will help the U.S. currency to stay within the 19.60-to-19.80-leva range, currency experts think.

Major Power Plant Reports Low Coal Stocks

AU2410142291 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 18 Oct 91 p 4

[BTA report: "Bobov Dol Thermoelectric Power Plant Running Short of Coal"]

[Text] On 1 October, the Bobov Dol Thermoelectric Power Plant had barely 120,000 tonnes of coal in stock, as compared with the 315,000 tonnes it held during the past two to three years. In previous years, the plant's main supplier, the Bobov Dol Economic and Mining Power Complex, provided 712,000 tonnes of coal for the winter, but this year the complex is expected to supply 150,000 tonnes less.

During the past two years, 700 persons have left the Bobov Dol mines, and early retirement has deprived the mines of many experienced workers. Few people apply for jobs in the mines.

The thermoelectric power plant needs 12,000 tonnes of coal a day in order to operate at full capacity during the winter. The plant's management believes that the mines in Bobov Dol and Pernik will find it difficult to provide those amounts. Talks are in progress with foreign companies about importing coal, and there is also a likelihood that the plant will be fueled with Soviet coal, the higher calorific value and improved qualities of which will be counterbalanced by higher delivery costs.

Reports of Arms Sales to Burma Called 'Incorrect'

AU2410132091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 91 pp 1, 16

[Editorial: "Arms Under Control; Mr. Quinn's Oversight; An Offer From Slovakia; Armex Was Offering Even Rockets"]

[Text] Prague—The only explanation for the statement made by the U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Kenneth M. Quinn, that the CSFR is selling arms to Burma is either incorrect information or a case of mistaking Czechoslovakia for Yugoslavia. These are the conjectures that were made yesterday.

According to reliable sources, last summer (12 June 1991), a charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy met with a representative of the CSFR Embassy to tell him, among other things, that the United States has information on arms sales to Burma from China, Poland, and Yugoslavia. On that occasion, he asked whether Czechoslovakia also sells or intends to sell arms to that country. He was assured that the Czechoslovak side has not and does not intend to consider such a sale. According to the world press agencies, however, in his speech before the Congress committee, K.M. Quinn named China, Poland, and Czechoslovakia as the countries exporting arms to Burma.

The U.S. Embassy in Prague learned about Mr. Quinn's statement from the media and so far has not received from its government any comment regarding this statement. According to our sources, embassy representatives are in contact with the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and their attitude is apologetic.

However, in the context of the trade relations with Burma, it transpired that the Slovak Government Agency for Foreign Investment has distributed a letter to several dozen countries that can be described as an attempt at a market survey. The letter promotes the Slovak ARMEX company, which offers discarded military technology, according to the enclosed list. This list contains, among other things, armored personnel carriers, tanks, helicopters, and even rockets. The existence of the letter has been confirmed by two independent sources.

According to our sources, the aforementioned offer was also delivered to our Trade Mission in Burma, where it was intercepted by the appropriate official, who returned it immediately, as unauthorized. Thus, it has never reached Burmese authorities, and, except for Czechoslovak diplomats, no one knew about it.

The Slovak company ARMEX is private, according to a representative of the Federal Ministry of Defense, and its operation has no connection with the Army's economic enterprises. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that this company does not hold an arms and special technology export permit, and, therefore, it is not authorized to export.

Klaus Seeks To 'Persuade' Washington on Tariffs

AU2410152891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 91 pp 1, 19

[Interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Marcela Doleckova in Washington; date not given]

[Text] The treaty on the mutual protection of investments was signed by Carla Hills and Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus in Washington on 22 October. Klaus granted an interview to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

[Doleckova] Why was the treaty not signed until now? It was expected that the treaty would be signed during the visit by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle to Prague.

[Klaus] Of all the countries with which we have concluded this treaty, the United States was the most difficult one to negotiate with. Do not get me wrong, but the United States is inclined to behave like a big country toward a small one. This is why the original draft treaty had to be redone, and, until the last moment, it was not clear whether it would be signed. The United States does not fully understand all the gradual transformation steps—for example, the separation of the regulating role of the state from that of owner.

[Doleckova] Why has the agreement on preventing double taxation not been signed?

[Klaus] This agreement will still be signed. At the same time, all regulations in the United States are far more complex than in other countries, and, therefore, negotiations are far more difficult. I think that the negotiations—intensive negotiations—will last for a few months.

[Doleckova] Rumor has it that, in GATT, the United States has a negative attitude toward the restructuring of Czechoslovak customs tariffs. Will this question be discussed in Washington?

[Doleckova] Of course, it will, and very intensively. To a certain extent, the United States does not understand the Czechoslovak situation. For 40 years, customs played no role in our country, and now we want to raise the tariffs by only 1 percent. In other words, even after that, our tariffs would be lower than, for example, Austrian or Swiss tariffs. Our task here in Washington is to persuade American officials because, from GATT's point of view, there are no objections.

Havel Writes to Mitterrand on Coming NATO Summit

AU2410145791 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 91 p 2

[Text] Martin Palous, CSFR deputy foreign minister, has handed Jean Francois Gueguinou, French ambassador to the CSFR, a letter from Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to French President Francois Mitterrand. The letter deals with the coming NATO summit meeting to be held in Rome at the beginning of November. In it, Havel evaluates the current situation in Europe and airs his views on the recent proposals concerning an expansion of NATO's cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

CSCE Decides To Set Up Mission in Yugoslavia

AU2410143891 Prague CSTK in English 2051 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] The Senior Officials' Committee of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) decided at its meeting today to set up a CSCE mission to monitor the observance of human rights in Yugoslavia.

The decision was made after the U.S. delegation proposed the sending of a CSCE observer to monitor human rights in Yugoslavia.

The mission will operate in all six republics, subject to their consent.

The leader of the mission will be appointed by the chairman of the CSCE Council of Ministers. The post is currently held by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Ivan Busniak, told CSTK that, for the first time in the course of the Yugoslav crisis, the CSCE has taken the lead over the European Community in fielding initiatives.

Busniak said it is also for the first time that the CSCE has set up its own executive body to report on the observance of human rights in one of its member states.

The committee passed a resolution expressing concern over the continuing violence in Yugoslavia. Busniak said it contained a new provision under which the chairman of the Senior Officials' Committee may call an urgent meeting of the committee without consulting with all 38 CSCE member states.

The session continues on Wednesday.

Soviets Close Border to Soviet Citizens

AU2410132791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 91 p 1

[Reply by Miroslav Kostlivy, section chief at the Central Customs Administration in Prague, to a question from an "az"-signed HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent in the "On the Phone" column; date not given]

[Text] [HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] The border crossing with the USSR at Vysne Nemecke has supposedly been closed. What does the situation there look like?

[Kostlivy] According to information supplied by the shift supervisor at the Vysne Nemecke Customhouse, the closure of the border crossing affects only Soviet citizens traveling to Czechoslovakia—on the basis of an invitation or in transit, for example. The Soviet side, which closed the customhouse on its side of the border for entry to the CSFR, will probably keep this measure in force until 1 November. The closure at Vysne Nemecke affects only USSR citizens.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 21 October on page 3 carries a 250-word CSTK report on the formation of several kilometer-long lines of cars on the Soviet side of the Vysne Nemecke border crossing on 19-20 October. According to the report, this was probably due to the "temporary closure of the Polish-Soviet crossing at Mostisk, which is undergoing reconstruction."]

Social Democrats Replace Leadership

AU2410163891 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 22 Oct 91 p 2

["top"-signed report: "About Confidence and No Confidence"]

[Text] Prague—At the weekend session held behind closed doors, a vote of confidence was taken in the Central Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy. Deputy Chairmen J. Tuma and J. Trnkova did not win it. Neither did Central Secretary J. Wagner, who at first refused to resign but was recalled by a three-fifths majority. According to Wagner, it is ironic that he was recalled for insisting on precisely the political line that was approved by that very Central Executive Committee.

"Wagner is a dynamic, hard-working, and resourceful person," Dr. K.H. Junek, press spokesman of the party, told us. "However, a substantial number of Central Executive Committee members did not agree with his methods, and certain differences of opinions transpired. Of course, Wagner is not leaving the party and remains our deputy in the Federal Assembly." Similarly, Federal Assembly Deputy P. Dostal described Wagner as an exceptionally able man but added that Wagner's and Tuma's joint departure removes two causes of conflicts in the party leadership. Wagner's vacated post was assumed by J. Lopata, former Kladno district secretary of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy.

The Central Executive Committee also decided that the main candidate and electoral leader of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy will be V. Komarek. According to the

closing statement, the Czechoslovak Social Democracy is open to cooperation with all partners in the preparation of an electoral coalition. An apparent exception is the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES on 21 October on page 1 in a similar report adds that "[Deputy Chairman] Richard Falbr also confirmed his resignation."]

Socialists Take Stand on Coalition With CSSD

AU2410135591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 91 p 2

[CSTK report in the "Parties and Movements" column]

[Text] The Liberal Social Union [made up of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Agrarian Party] will not form an electoral coalition with Czechoslovak Social Democracy [CSSD], should such a coalition include parties established by breaking away from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. This stand was announced by Pavel Hirs, central secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, to journalists yesterday. He went on to say that it is unacceptable to the Liberal Social Union for the coalition with the CSSD, should any be formed, to be called Social Democratic Union.

Sub-Carpathian Ruthenians on Secession Referendum

AU2410144291 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Agata Pilatova, deputy chairwoman of the Society of Friends of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, by a "(ks)"-signed reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] What do the Ruthenians want?

[Pilatova] At the moment, the only organization that represents the Ruthenians is the Society of Carpathian Ruthenians. Its first demand is the rerecognition of Ruthenian nationality, which has not existed for more than 40 years. One positive thing is the fact that the local people can be Roman Catholics again and not just members of the Orthodox Church, as was the case until recently. However, the churches are not being returned so easily. A referendum has been declared for 1 December on the Ukrainian Republic's independence. The second demand is associated with this—the referendum should also contain a question about the future of Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Approximately 1,200,000 people live in the so-called Transcarpathian Ukraine. Of this number, some 750,000 are Ruthenians. The rest are ethnic minorities—Hungarian, German, Romanian, and Slovak—or immigrants from the Ukraine and Russia. Opinions are divided: Some people are demanding a Carpathian Republic independent of the Ukraine, while others are demanding autonomy within its framework. Many older people are again remembering the time when they were part of Czechoslovakia. A delegation even came to Prague in the spring with a petition containing tens of thousands of signatures in support of returning the country to Czechoslovakia. Therefore, the most important thing is to finally ascertain what the majority of the people of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia actually want and then enable them to carry out their will.

Military Denies Selling Scuds to Croatia

LD2510100791 Budapest MTI in English 0847 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—The Yugoslavian press rumours about the alleged training of terrorists in the former Soviet barracks in Hungary to be dispatched to Yugoslavia were firmly denied by Imre Mentes, a senior official from the treasury asset-handling agency responsible for the utilization and protection of former Soviet real estate in Hungary.

In a statement to MAGYAR HIRLAP, the official said that these barracks are strictly guarded from unauthorized intrusion. To date, the agency has received no application for the establishment of any kind of training camp in the emptied Soviet barracks, Imre Mentes said, while the agency's permission is indispensable to this.

Speaking to the correspondent of MAGYAR HIRLAP, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, described the accusation that Hungary had sold 300 SCUD missiles to Croatia as totally unfounded. He said that Hungary has 24 Scud-B missiles altogether, but they were dismantled this spring and the unit was dissolved. The missiles are currently kept in a storehouse. As the missiles are 11 metres long and weigh 6.3 tonnes, it would be hardly possible to smuggle them out of the country unnoticed, the spokesman said.

Serb's Jovanovic Announces Visit, Refutes Antall

LD2410102591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0530 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Serbian Foreign Minister Jovanovic has announced that he is to visit Hungary. He also stated that the Budapest government would be proud if Serbs in Hungary lived under the same circumstances as Magyars in the Serbian Vojvodina. However, this is not the case, Jovanovic added.

Meanwhile, the Serbian deputy prime minister refuted Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's statement that 20 percent of the casualties of the Yugoslav Army are Magyars.

Goncz Views Relevance of 1956 Revolution

AU2410145891 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 22 Oct 91 pp 4-5

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Akos Mester; place and date not given: "Vivid Memory of 1956"]

[Text] The 23d of October is a national holiday. More fortunate countries celebrate their own greatness during anniversaries; in Hungary, a feeling of want has become our basic reflex as a result of our banned revolutions. We have a debt here and we should pay this debt. Everything seems to be all right in connection with 1956. The former demands are no longer demands, Hungary is independent, the Warsaw Pact has collapsed, and there is democracy. What about the spirit of 1956? Akos Mester asked Arpad Goncz about this.

[Mester] There are people who remember that the 1956 revolution was started by revolutionaries with a common will. Others have a totally different opinion. What is your opinion?

[Goncz] The year 1956 has always been the moment of mercy and truth in modern Hungarian history, as well as unquestionably the moment of national unity. It is perhaps the task of historians to determine the role of the preparatory stage in starting this revolution, of the reform communists, the Petofi circle, the writers' association, in short the circle of intellectuals that started the year-long agitation. The fact that this revolution could be so united is mainly due to the fact that it started with a clean page. The old regime collapsed irrevocably in 1944. Therefore, the revolution of 1956 did not have to deal with anything but sweeping away the Stalinist dictatorship and trying to restore Hungary's independence. Thus, the revolution had clear goals and the Hungarian popular movements were directed by a positive intention rather than by a desire for revenge, and these movements were in perfect harmony with the mentality of our people.

The Time of Truth

[Mester] When I asked whether the revolutionaries really had a common will, I meant that those who were convicted after 1956 for participation in the revolution also unanimously claimed that not everyone was equally enthusiastic about the revolution. This also transpired in the prisons where not all the cell mates had the same feeling about the revolution either. In other words, people desired change not necessarily for the same reasons. Actually, only their anger was common, and their will and human character were quite different.

[Goncz] Naturally, they were quite different in character. We must separate the strata that was politically aware—made up primarily of those who prepared the revolution, intellectuals, writers—and the spontaneous mass of armed fighters and impulsive people. If we go over all the documents, the press documents and the radio notes, we can see, for example, that the demand for the workers' property was quite clear. There is no indication of any attempt to restore private property or agricultural lands or anything else. There were plenty of slogans like "We Will Not Give Land or Factory Back." There was uniform condemnation of the AVO [Hungarian secret service at the time] and there was the demand for the Soviet troops to be withdrawn, and the demand for independence and even neutrality later. Therefore, there was a general consensus in everything. Naturally, there was no uniform temperament. Many small people, revolutionaries, and mainly armed fighters "became politically aware" from the prisons. Before that, most of them were driven among the armed fighters

by an amorphous dissatisfaction and, to a certain extent, by the desire for adventure and by their previous marginal positions.

[Mester] After all, it is quite natural that in a revolution people with different temperaments, nervous systems, abilities, and training find themselves on the same side of the barricades. However, there were people who were driven by different goals. Some of them wanted a bourgeois democracy, while others would have been satisfied with "more real" socialism.

[Goncz] This revolution was and fell precisely on the boundary between the two. The revolution failed clearly to formulate the new political road by 4 November 1956. Therefore, it is very difficult to say anything about how things would have developed. We should not forget that, at that time, it was not clear that socialism could not be rectified, especially from an economic viewpoint; nor was it clear that a specific or any other form of workers'—and public—property would not work in the world. It was interesting that, if they were adequate from a political and human viewpoint, the workers' councils kept their engineers, chief-engineers, directors, and chief accountants. In other words, the workers' councils were prepared to own and manage their factories. By doing this, they not only demanded direct democracy, they also created it in the form of national revolutionary committees and workers' councils. And these bodies worked too. Thus, in a forced situation, it is again impossible to evaluate their tragically delayed future.

[Mester] I think that most participants in this revolution did not think in terms of ideology or social structure at all. Someone put it very well, by saying that "things just happened."

[Goncz] Well, there was much more than this involved. Indeed, it was a spontaneous revolution and things did happen, but these events had rather strong characteristics. For example, no workers questioned the workers' property and, although it was prepared by the intellectuals, this struggle was fought by the Hungarian working class, in fact its younger strata, whose political awareness was almost nil, and the desire for the workers' property was characteristic.

Lost Spirit of 1956?

[Mester] Why is it then that many people still think that it was the revolutionary youth that made the 1956 revolution break out?

[Goncz] If we are talking about students as being the revolutionary youth, then it is undeniable that it was the University of Szeged and the technical university in Budapest that summarized the points proclaiming a program of national independence—and not some kind of political/ideological program.

[Mester] Mr. President, how vivid is your recollection of 1956 today?

[Goncz] It was a determining experience, so it is natural for me to have a vivid recollection of it. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to kick that human habit of thinking that "everything was different then" after a certain amount of time—in other words, we try to project our current situation and opinion on the past. That is impossible.

[Mester] According to logic, the national unity witnessed at the outbreak of the revolution should have been passed on to posterity, and when better and more consolidated conditions arose—as in a peaceful revolution—the spirit of unity should have started to exert its effect. Sadly we have to note, however, that it seems to have been an illusion to hope that in this more consolidated period our political parties would adopt the spirit of 1956. Were these hopes ever realistic?

[Goncz] It seems not. Two organizations have claimed 56 as their own: the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats. Understandably, the Independent Smallholders Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party had to relate to the formations that existed between 1944 and 1947—just as they did in 1956. In other words, that was what gave them continuity. The Federation of Young Democrats was a completely new formation, and it did not have any basis or reserve of experiences dating from that period. As for the Hungarian Socialist Party, it could only have based itself on 1956 if it had adopted the legacy of the reform communists, but this party was practically founded by reform communists—albeit a different type of reform communists.

Compensation Failed To Materialize [subhead]

[Mester] Could that be the reason why 1956 is not given the respect that its historical role deserves?

[Goncz] I think that is probably the case. Relatively few of the participants in 1956 are active in today's political life, but quite a few people refer to 1956, as people generally have done throughout history: They try to incorporate things into it, turning things to their own advantage.

[Mester] In other words, they refer to it, but in fact...

[Goncz] The most significant point is that all kinds of indemnities were granted before the introduction of the compensation mechanism that would have represented compensation for the victims of 1956. This has still failed to materialize. Yet these people, if they are still alive, are approximately 70 years old (or older), and many of the surviving widows are struggling in dreadful material and economic circumstances, having had their whole lives snapped in two.

[Mester] Who can be blamed for that?

[Goncz] Allow me not to look for culprits.

[Mester] The 1956 revolution is now being celebrated as a national holiday, and that is a very uplifting feeling. At the same time, perhaps we should not forget that the first

thing liberated nations have to realize is that freedom is not a perpetual state of elation.

[Mester] We made one fundamental mistake in our former socialist country. To be more precise, it was not a mistake but a miscalculation. We thought that it would be terribly difficult to overthrow communism, but that after that, we would proceed triumphantly into the world of market economy systems and pluralism. As it turned out, communism practically fell over itself, but since then, it has been extraordinarily difficult to enter that second world, and it has been even more difficult to dismantle structures that developed over a period of 40 or 70 years.

[Mester] Are you trying to say that it is not a coincidence that the change of regime did not take place as quickly as we had hoped it would?

[Goncz] We have a country. This country is inhabited by the same people who were here 18 months ago, or before. We are not starting off with a carte blanche and there is no red line to follow in a change of regime. After the people's republic, we proclaimed our republic: That was a festive occasion, but people do not change from serfs to citizens overnight.

[Mester] It may be that in the end, we will have to face up to the question of whether we have enough intelligence to carry out this change of regime.

[Goncz] I am absolutely convinced that we do. However, the same way people expel the food they have eaten, they also have to somehow get rid of the scum in their thoughts. This cannot be done from one minute to the next. It takes a while for the psyche to be cleansed. We can—rightly—be impatient, but if we are impatient, it shows that we do not have a good enough sense of reality. Unfortunately, everything takes its own natural time to ripen.

[Mester] When do you think that we will finally pass from this impatience (however understandable) to national reconciliation?

[Goncz] I think that national reconciliation will begin when our economy starts to ascend, when we no longer need to fight in exasperation for our existence and the maintenance of our living standards, when it starts to become apparent that it would be worthwhile to pull together because we are beginning to ascend. I do not think that moment is very far away, although I am convinced that it will be a while yet. People are still marked by the fragments of at least three different value systems: People are "bruised" by a Christian, a national, and a socialist ideology, and if these are shaken about—like in a hat—they will rearrange themselves. It would be strange if it were any different. You can preach patience, but to expect patience when people still have open wounds is very difficult. Perhaps we should not allow ourselves to experiment with paranoia. We should not let ourselves personalize our worries, look for enemies, or look for the fault in people rather than circumstances. I think we should ask precise questions, and we should draw a link between cause and effect. At the moment, we see the effect, and we always look for the cause in someone else. It would be better to look for the cause in circumstances and processes.

Government's 24 Oct Session Reviewed

LD2510044891 Budapest MTI in English 1954 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—During its Thursday session in Budapest, the Hungarian Government heard a report on the situation in Yugoslavia, and expressed its concern over the future of Dubrovnik which forms part of the world heritage, spokeswoman Judit Juhasz told journalists.

She also said that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall would leave on a one-and-a-half-day visit to Brussels on Sunday to attend the session of the permanent council of NATO's foreign ministers' commmittee. In his lecture, he will outline the concepts of the Hungarian Government related to the new circumstances of European security, particularly as regards the serious tension in Central and Eastern Europe. The country's relations with NATO will also be discussed. The prime minister is scheduled to meet General Secretary Manfred Woerner, senior representatives from the Belgian Government, and Jacques Delors, chairman of the commission of the European Communities.

Under the government's decision, Hungary will be a permanent member of the Geneva-based International Migration Organization, which has provided Hungary considerable help in providing for the refugees. Hungary will be exempted from the payment of 88,600 Swiss francs in annual membership dues, but will cover the costs of setting up an international office in Budapest.

Two environmental reports also figured on the agenda of the session.

One of them concerned the order of urgency to be followed in averting the environmental damage caused by the Soviet troops and the financing of relevant projects. There are 20 facilities where the polluted soil and subsoil water may cause accidents and epidemics, such as those in Tokol, Kalocsa, Kiskunlachaza, Esztergom and Szombathely. This work should begin immediately and be completed by 1992. A minor degree of pollution was observed at 82 facilities, the elimination of which will start in 1993.

In the event of 7 facilities, abolishing the damage is expected to take 5-15 years. As the environment and the population face no direct danger here, the relevant works will be commenced in 1995.

Hungary is joining the worldwide action aimed at safeguarding the ozone layer. Accordingly, the government adopted the supplementary protocol of London, which provides for accelerating efforts to terminate or replace the use of certain harmful materials.

Protest to SFRY on Danube Shipping Disruption

LD2410175891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has protested to Yugoslavia in a note about the fact that shipping in the Danube is gradually becoming impossible owing to the fighting in the neighboring country. The document on this was handed over by a competent head of department of the portfolio when he summoned the Yugoslav ambassador in Budapest. The foreign affairs official called attention to the significant losses the Hungarian economy has suffered and stressed that the Hungarian state will support the compensation claims of the enterprises concerned in accordance with international legal regulations. The Foreign Ministry called on the Yugoslav authorities to take the necessary steps without delay, in the interests of free shipping in the Danube.

Demonstrators Denounce Radio Station

LD2410183591 Budapest MTI in English 1017 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest October 23 (MTI)—Hundreds of demonstrators gathered in front of the headquarters of the Hungarian radio on Wednesday afternoon, shouting slogans "You are lying day and night", "The Hungarian radio belongs to the Hungarian people", "Communist traitors", "We want a national radio".

The demonstrators read out a 16-point petition, demanding to call those who are responsible for Hungary's destruction to account, replace the [word indistinct] leaders of the army and the police, elaborate a new constitution, teach the genuine history of Hungary and guarantee the objectivity of the press.

The crowd shouted that the agitators of dictatorship should disappear and a national radio be established. They demanded to remove the sculptures and monuments of the former regime, and replace the leaders of companies and institutions. After a delegation handed over the petition to a senior official of the Hungarian radio, some demonstrators attempted to enter the building by force.

On behalf of the Revolutionary Memorial Committee and some groups calling themselves the genuine heirs of 1956, the demonstrators handed over the 16-point petition to a senior official of the Hungarian radio. They demanded that the radio should interrupt its programme and broadcast the petition. The leaders of the radio rejected the demand but promised that the regular news programme would first sum up the major demands and then deal with the petition in detail. A part of the crowd, waiting for the broadcast, remained on the scene even at 6 o'clock.

Ukraine Delegation Visits, Wants To Barter

LD2410184291 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Vasiliy Suchoi, member of the presidium of the Supreme Council of the Ukraine, said that they intend to concentrate on barter arrangements with Hungary. He added that ways and means of settling trade bills are currently being studied by Hungarian and Ukrainian banking authorities.

Suchoi is heading a delegation currently in Hungary to study Hungary's experiences of the transformation of its agriculture. The Ukraine is currently preparing legislation on the privatization and the operation of agricultural cooperatives.

Hungary and the Ukraine will draw up indicative trade lists for 1992 and the two governments will guarantee goods exchange according to the lists.

Asked about a planned free trade zone in Sub-Carpathia, Suchoi said he could not say anything definite because "the Ukraine parliament and government have not discussed the question yet."

He did, however, add that he could see no reason why such a zone could not be established in sub-Carpathia.

An international conference is currently in progress in Uzhgorod on the conditions for setting up free trade zones.

Walesa Discusses Elections, Future Poland

LD2410182791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2000 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by several unidentified correspondents for Television Information Agency, date and place not given;—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] We are meeting a few days before the Parliamentary elections. Are you not afraid of the results of those elections?

[Walesa] No, I'm not afraid of the results of those elections; I would however very much like political stabilization at last.

[Correspondent] Up to now you have been the only democratically elected institution in Polish political life. Now there will be a democratically elected Parliament and a government which will probably also have a mandate from society. Are you not afraid of your power being curtailed?

[Walesa] No, I'm not afraid, because before I went to the starting point I knew that the Polish reforms depended on political stability. That stability couldn't be reached and in view of that economic matters, pension matters, and matters affecting society were in the background. That's normality in this kind of abnormal situation.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, there are many possible scenarios in these elections; I will choose three: one, that the post-communist camp will get enough mandates to be able to block every democratic reform; two, the Democratic Union [UD] will win a majority, therefore you will have a parliament unfavorable to you and an equally unfavorable government emerging from this Union; and three, the very worse, that there is such fragmentation within this parliament that it is incapable of effective action. Do you have your own scenario in view of such prospects? What will you do, sir?

[Walesa] You cited three scenarios. I envisage a few more scenarios. I am convinced that, independently of the scenario within Parliament, I will find appropriate solutions. I understand that society today is more concerned about living conditions. I believe, particularly from these talks, particularly from listening to the radio, that we do not fully understand one another. Society does not notice that a deadly battle is approaching with the old system, that the Roundtable, although a deliverance, nevertheless restricted and did not bring order to the political situation, and today this battle, precisely with the old nomenklatura and communists, with the old system, is approaching. At the same time, the battle will be over the development of Poland, over the shape of the future Poland—will the future Poland be leftist or will the future Poland be in harmony with the soul of this nation?

So, of course, in each of these cases, all orientations and all faiths and all political shades must have a place, but we must not forget the soul of the nation. That is why this battle is so difficult, because to be honest we are not solving any economic problems because we cannot. We have involved ourselves in a battle precisely over the shape of the future Republic. I am convinced that despite everything, the public will understand what the battle is about—will our development be in harmony with the soul of this nation, or will it in fact not be fully worked out, or leftist, not fitting in with the soul of the nation?

I hope that these fundamental values dormant within the nation will be appropriately implemented—both by Parliament and the government. If today we do not take a decisive step toward the integration of the soul of the nation with these expectations and tendencies, we will commit a great error and our future development will remain uncertain.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, is it not the case however that a fragmented parliament will be your victory? You will then be the strongest figure on the political stage, you will deal the cards.

[Walesa] Gentlemen, indeed propaganda has so set the portrait of the president, as if I was solely concerned with administering power and not resolving problems. Now, a strong executive authority has nothing to do with the struggle for democracy, with the struggle with dictatorship. A strong authority is required by us so as to, so as to precisely implement the program which this nation will develop, either in Parliament, or which the nation will decide in the electoral campaign. As you have noticed, I wanted a strong executive authority, but one fitting within democracy, so as to implement a program that is presidential or else another which society will express itself in favor of. For this there is a requirement for a decisive and strong executive power, but one that fits within the law specified by parliament.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, which of the possible scenarios after the elections, of the results of these elections, would be the best for Poland?

[Walesa] Now we must be democratic. We must have the opportunity of democracy so that the best people, the most intelligent, and the best programs move through to implementation. This is one matter. And so, democracy. This must be followed by a decisive, strong execution by the president and by the government. But for this to take place we must first of all have political order. We cannot have a stopgap. We live in a stopgap. We and this government could not create order within the ministries and elsewhere because we did not have the luxury of time. It was simply a stopgap.

No one would undertake difficult reforms in a makeshift way, no one would dismiss irresponsible people, because he knew that he would be leaving in a few hours, and only then would they pay him for all this. That is why, as soon as possible—I repeat once again, as soon as possible—we must rectify those things which decide, the things which give respite, the things will allow for the

realization of just social demands, and the impossibility of this realization lies in the fact that we do not have political order.

[Correspondent] There are many political groups starting off in the elections. Many completely disoriented people have telephoned us with a question to you, sir: Are you capable of directing these people in some way?

[Walesa] Of course I am capable, but I cannot hinder pluralism and democracy. I cannot. I could have been a strong president, I could even have shifted everything toward the implementation of the presidential program, but this would all be contrary to my concept. After all, if I divided Solidarity, why did I do it? In order for the things which we created, the Roundtable, to be a concept for the best known people, people who fought the Communists, to be able to complete the battle with the Communists. But these are not the people who suit the stage which awaits us, and so these are not the people—even Solidarity's orientation was oriented toward the battle for possibilities and not toward the solution of economic problems.

Therefore, we had to protect this elite, we even had to break up the elite so that the appropriate elements—people and programs—could acquire the possibility of deciding about the future shape of Poland. So I effected this dangerous, very bad, and unfavorable maneuver myself to build lasting, great foundations for a great future, Poland.

[Correspondent] Mr. President. You have, let's say, avoided this subject, so I will try for a third time. Up to now, you have demanded that the Sejm give you and the government more powers. Will you demand the same from the new Sejm?

[Walesa] No. I will get it anyway but I will get with a different philosophy: the philosophy of responsibility for Poland and the vital need for greater effectiveness. On the other hand, I demanded that the powerlessness be shown, that the vital need to put the political stage in order be shown. Of course, as I say, we are still fighting up to this moment. We are not solving the farmers' problems; we are not solving social problems, for up to the moment we have been fighting and we will fight and that's normal. We will fight until such time the political stage has been put in order. Without this order, such various gambits will be made in order to argue the imperative for this very kind of order.

[Correspondent] Could you be a little more precise when you say; I'll get it anyway? That is to say...

[Walesa interrupting] [Word indistinct], because what's happening now and what will happen in future will say that the executive authority, our declared program, must be effective and must solve the problems. For that reason too, one way or another, in a democratic way or some other way, we will arrive at the same thing. But I repeat once again: the point is not that somebody wants strong authority. The point is that the problems have to be solved.

[Correspondent] Do you want it?

[Walesa] No. I very much don't want it and anyway, as I said, this year will be a decisive one for me: Either society will understand what is at stake or society will join in and finish the struggle with the old system; or it will at last behave in accordance with what it thinks and what it says; or there is no place for me as president.

[Correspondent] But why haven't you put the political stage in order by now?

[Walesa] Because I would have had to force, or do by way of a coup, what would be disadvantageous in this lesson of democracy. That's why, with a sore heart and with tears in my eyes, I had to keep going. I had to, because in any case it would have had a bad effect on democracy. It had to be finished. It just had to be done and it seems to us that we have survived it. We are paying for it. I'm paying the highest price, but any other move would not be in that direction.

[Correspondent] But why an immediate coup d'etat? After all, after your victory in the presidential elections it was clear that if you were to say that this Sejm must dissolve itself, then it would do this. Meanwhile, your first expression of political will was, however, to leave this Sejm...

[Walesa, interrupting] Hold on. Both yes and no. Because we did not have, I wanted to do this fairly well [sentence as heard]. However, I wanted time for party work, time for people to become organized. In association with this concept, despite the fact that we are paying a frightful price, it then seems to me that if we make it through the elections, well, then we are ahead, though in the short term we have lost. Yes, we have lost quite a lot, but can one carry out a revolution without losses, without losses? I am convinced that the answer is no. Could these losses have been smaller? Yes. Did I do everything for things to be different? Probably not. On the other hand, I am convinced that history will evaluate this well. Every kind of stronger move would have to cause both a stronger attack and a stronger confrontation. I wanted calm for society, I wanted to implement this peacefully, and it seems to me that this has all succeeded; if indeed society is outraged that we are not resolving its problems, if it is outraged but will nonetheless go to the elections, then we have won with finesse, we have won the point, although we will have paid a very high price.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you said that you are giving the future parliament between three months to four years. For each of these variants you have your own scenario. What scenario do you have for this first situation? That is, a few months and the parliament ceases to exist?

[Walesa] If squabbling, if society does not play a greater part in this, if it does not go to the elections, then those from the old system who maintain a mess in Poland will win. That is why there will not be any choice. The president has said that he will implement a program, that he will bring Poland to normality. He will. Along which road? Hopefully a democratic one, hopefully with understanding, hopefully with support.

[Correspondent] Hopefully means that there are other possibilities?

[Walesa] Of course! The president must assume many possibilities, and does assume them. He became president to bring Poland to the reforms, and he will do so. On the other hand, I deeply believe in societal reflection, I deeply believe that nonetheless intelligence will be victorious, that nonetheless, despite anger at the president and at everyone, that we will nonetheless take part in the elections, that we will defeat the Commies to the end, and that we will put this country in order. But for this to be so, then the president must be stronger, stronger in support, in orientation, in understanding, and only in such a way will he implement that which is indispensible and necessary. Otherwise we will fight, and not always as we would wish, through our carelessness, through us, through the fact that we will not participate in that which is necessary and indispensible [as heard].

[Correspondent] You are putting your money on democracy. The democratic system is arising slowly. How to reconcile this with the concept of acceleration?

[Walesa] Well, acceleration was and remains indispensible, because society wishes this for itself and demands it. On the other hand, the implementation of acceleration in the center of Europe, in the situation in which we find ourselves, is not so straightforward. I think nonetheless that we have carried out an acceleration, an acceleration with the aim of regulating matters. On the other hand, we have not made an acceleration with the aim of resolving problems, because this was quite simply impossible to attain and we did not attain it. On the other hand, now, with intelligent arrangement, there is an opportunity that we will return to the concept, to the promises of the president. The president promised above all principle matters, that is to return Poland to the Poles, to return Poland to the poor Poles' possibilities so that they may be able to enrich themselves.

And so this mocked hundred million [sentence as heard]. We will return to this. We will return. I am convinced that I do not have any other choice, that other promises, including in that decrees [as heard]. But I once more repeat, not against democracy. If there were decrees, then we would have regulated, for instance, the problem with the return of past assets. So order would be created in a set period. Other decrees wherever the Communist law of today has not managed to prevent various scandals, has not managed to prevent bad developmental tendencies. Decrees are necessary at the moment of construction and where this is lawlessness, only they must be directed to Parliament straight after their declaration, and parliament is to decisively and intelligently arrange them in order and resolve them. So, no dictatorship. Effectiveness. I am convinced that we will return to all of this, because such is the indispensible necessity for today and probably for tomorrow too.

[Correspondent] Precisely. The president promised above all that he will smash the old structures. Meanwhile, well let's be frank about this, people still have the feeling of a certain injustice, of a bias in dealing with the harm done. This applies particularly in the country outside the large cities, where the old establishments, the old structures still remain. One can see how the people who are getting richer are not those who should be; and up to now, you have symbolized just this: that we will defeat this. Then you just repeat: let people organize themselves, and they are tired.

[Walesa] Gentlemen, here again look at the kind of possibilities for action that the president has. Hardly any in fact. In fact, the future Parliament will define what the president should do. I repeat to you: I came here in order to keep an eye on whatever possible, so that the Polish scenario takes a logical shape; despite everything, we have almost achieved that with my help. But on the other hand, solving specific problems which are the most necessary in a civilized world, in the center of Europe, in the situation which we find ourselves, is not possible without what I describe as a coup d'etat. It's not a coup, it is by decisive action, subordination of the militia forces, prosecutor's [office], forces, and others. But here again I would not have achieved that without a determined entrance, without the help from the street.

But that is probably not what we have in mind. The costs of the reform are terribly high and they have to be paid. The farmer and the worker, above all, are paying today. But in order to change that the president would have to be able to act in accordance with the law. I want to implement all this and I must—but I haven't the power and the means. (?If I obtained them), I could have done it, as I said, closing it with a coup d'etat. However, that is not what we are building, is it? So, I endured it. Society endured it. Today, let it try to give the possibilities for implementation—not necessarily to the president. I will bow to the will of Parliament. I will bow to the government if it has a better program. I will help it, but I have to have—I and the government—the executive possibilities. I have already said: a makeshift arrangement for three months did not give ministers the opportunity for effective action, for nobody will dare to make order, to sack half a ministry, those who should be sacked; nobody will dare to sack half the regional authorities, for he knows that he will be going in three months' time, and then they will pay him back for what he has done. So, we did not have the room to move, we did not have the chances given by law and many other things. This can be, and will be achieved, but we must step by step grab opportunities which will make such action possible for us. Today we have no such opportunities.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, ending the theme of elections, it is impossible not to mention the electoral regulations which are terribly unjust and which have been badly manipulated—of which, by the way, public awareness is very low. This injustice is caused by the fact that in most electoral districts, the majority of them small, the groups which will get a dozen or so percent of votes are getting a very similar number of mandates as the groups which get a few percent. It is known that this few percent are probably Communists, and the dozen or so are post-Solidarity groups. This means that the post-communists will be greatly overrepresented in the future Sejm—that is the current overrepresentation in the Sejm will continue. How do you intend to resolve this problem?

[Walesa] Of course the electoral regulations are hopeless and I have mentioned that already. I had no power to change it. Today I can say to the Communists: Gentlemen, you have lost, but Poland is paying for it and let us hope it will not have to pay more. But if you force [me] by not giving me a chance to act for the government and the president, then we shall meet in the streets. But your fate has been decided. That is why, gentlemen, be careful, your era has come to the end. Poland is for the Poles and the president will bring this about. Let him not be forced to use the axe. But if he is forced to use it, he knows where the bridgeheads of treason are, he knows where the bridgeheads of theft from Poland are, I know about all this. I count on your reflection, I count on the fact that everything you took from Poland will be taken from you and given back. I wish to achieve this on a legal and formal route, with democracy. But if not, then the street, together with the president, will complete this task, and will lead you to the place where you should have been put a long time ago.

[Correspondent] Will you vote and where will you vote?

[Walesa] In Gdansk, of course, as I am registered there as I have not moved to Warsaw and do not intend to move .

[Correspondent] Why?

[Walesa] I cannot give a straight answer as I would be making suggestions. I can only say against what. Against the Communists, who really are playing the game and continue to betray the fatherland, I shall vote along the Christian line because this is the spirit of the nation.

[Correspondent] Who will you designate as the prime minister of the next government?

[Walesa] I have to behave in accordance with the law not to disturb democracy. There are many possible varients here. I would like at long last for the prime minister and the orientation originating from the spirit of the nation to have and to solve Poland's affairs over a long period of time. But, I repeat, the details of this scenario are (not?) yet known. I am prepared not for three, but for many more scenarios. I will apply the very best one, the one most appropriate to Poland. That is why I may bear grudges toward the theorists and strategists today.

Sirs, we have many splendid, excellent, great people, but for the battle for possibilities, for the fight with communism, but not for solving specific problems like those on the street and those of the farmers, the workers, and others. Today, we need economists not politicians. The period of politics has ended in the sense of the battle, and so forth. The time and the orientation have been chosen. It is time to solve problems, it is time to end the battle for posts and all that, and to take up problems, otherwise we will all drift away. That is why I am convinced that experts, professionals, patriots, having economic problems and those which are most important as their sole aim, will take their places in the government, and partially within the parliament.

[Correspondent] But do you allow for the possibility of using all your authority in order to force through a candidate as prime minister against the parliamentary majority?

[Walesa] No, I have done nothing, despite everything that has been said and written about me, I have done nothing to hinder democracy. I will admit of course that here and there I have pushed against someone, I have jibed at someone, I have undermined someone, yes, but only to make things happen, to provoke, to force Poles to participate in the fight for Poland. Therefore, I will not hinder democracy. I will behave in a way a politician should behave, seeing the main direction. However, I will oppose all evil or tendencies which are not in line with social feelings, not in line with democracy.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you said in an interview for POLITYKA that the prime minister had to be an expert not a politician, that he ought to be consistent, energetic, and must understand the economy. Is this a character sketch of Prime Minister Bielecki?

[Walesa] It's very close. This is a character sketch of Prime Minister Bielecki, but, sirs, why is that? Let's really have a look. After all, we continue to fight politically for places, for government, without solving the problems which are accumulating. That is why it is time to end this stage and clean up our political affairs. It will always exist, but not in that catagory. Today, to be precise, the economy and people's affairs are in second place. This is all supplementary until such time as order is brought to political affairs—these pensions, these battles—all this serves the political battle and it must be reversed. It is the economic battle which should aid politically.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, is Prime Minister Bielecki your No. 1 candidate?

[Walesa] Of course he is, because he has proved himself, because he is prepared, because he ought to be used to good effect. However, [word indistinct] in what configuration is a different matter. Well, he cannot be given to Poland, to parliament out of spite, because then he won't

be able to cope. As I have said, it is time to tidy up; it is time to breathe and it is time for possible long-term activity. Prime Minister Bielecki understands this. He is a great candidate, he really has proved himself, despite the fact that he came here from the third division, but he has proved himself. At the same time he has not solved many problems. He must be supported, he must be given great support, because he cannot be an artificial creation without support. Of course, why is this the case today? It is so because the president could not help him in various places, even in parliament.

Sirs, it was demanded of me that I agree to an agreement to authorize the old system. I could not cultivate the parliament. I could not meet with the floor groups, because in that case this agreement would have extended the life of that arrangement, which had to be fully dismantled. That was my tragedy. That worked against me. However, I will now do what is demanded of me, but at the time when I can do this. Even the worst fragmented parliament will enable me to cultive it [as heard]. What does it mean, to cultivate? It means to work with it for the good of Poland, for the good of the reforms, for the good of solving all these things. However, I can only do this when the parliament has a mandate. The old mandate was the result of agreements, and so of a different epoch. It was splendid, but of a different epoch. That is why I think of achieving, I think of really helping, but, as I say, when my help is possible. It has not been possible up to now. Up to now, instead of solving problems and meeting electoral promises, I have had to watch the battle, I myself have had to fight over this, both with the Communists and with political tendencies which have been forming in Poland, and which do not accord with the feelings and with the things by which society lives, and so with the will of this nation.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, in another interview, for ZYCIE WARSZAWY and GAZETA GDANSKA newspapers, you say that for Poland I am ready to accept even a prime minister Walesa. This is a metaphor, but let us treat this literally. Nowhere does the Constitution mention the fact that the president and the prime minister have to be two different people. In an extreme case of inability to produce, to designate the prime minister in a fragmented parliament, will you opt for the American model, and take (?charge) of government?

[Walesa] Look, I have said many times that life will bring a different program, that the scenarios dreamed up might be altogether irrelevant. I then replied to that question in a way similar to the time I signed a letter Corporal Walesa [1982 letter sent by Walesa while interned to General Jaruzelski]. So as to not get into discussions, which are perhaps nice, perhaps interesting, perhaps sensational, but senseless, I brought things to an end, shortened it thus, and replied that if democracy, if the system, if the calculations, if Poland wishes it, then I am capable of accepting everything in this direction because that is why I came here. But I shortened this briefly, amusingly, and debatably.

[Correspondent] The deputy prime minister in the government of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki is Leszek Balcerowicz. What is your attitude toward Leszek Balcerowicz?

[Walesa] Gentlemen, I said a long time ago that Balcerowicz is a phenomenon, except he did not have a twin brother. That which Balcerowicz did was considered—top notch, good—and precisely this is what it was appropriate to do. However, after this a second brother of Balcerowicz should have come along who would follow the path left by the first and redevelop all that that one had correctly moved away, stopped, rejected. So, this future Balcerowicz, this second Balcerowicz, is at least 500 people, expertly and well prepared, who land in a Voivodship in turn and take a look. They demand lists of the unemployed, they look at the professions, they look at the regional possibilities, they look at the cashbox, and what the economic orientation of Poland is. They establish a great company so as to take this billion or two for this, for this Voivodship. This in turn they bring, for they can do this, to these unemployed, bring to these possibilities, and start up the ashes after the first Balcerowicz; they start them up for the new Poland. Such a second Balcerowicz is indispensible, for otherwise this first Balcerowicz is not in a fit state to, and there is not anyone to cultivate these ashes that remain after, as much in agriculture as workers made redundant and without work [as heard]. We lacked this Balcerowicz!

[Correspondent] Mr.President, if I could ask just one more question regarding the government. Are you ready to designate a representative of the Democratic Union for the post of prime minister in a situation where this will be the condition for the creation of a Solidarity government?

[Walesa] Gentlemen, this is again, this is, this is [word indistinct] that can be considered. One can really put one's foot in it, but I like putting my foot in it. If the Union attained 50 percent and more, then in fact the president has no choice. But each percent in parliament less than 50 leaves 51 for other forces. If these other forces will not work with the Union, lets say, and will not resolve Polish problems, then sorry, what way out does the president have? To take this 51 percent and the prime minister therefrom, because I have to have a majority, I have to [word indistinct] a program. This caused offense that, that what? Such a possibility also exists, that the Union will not get 50 percent, because I do not believe in such a possibility. So, let it get even 20 percent. Then 80 percent are on the other side, even fragmented, but not necessarily agreed on cooperation with the Union. I as the president must choose the majority, must choose a majority to give this government time, so it is not a government constantly changed, and that will not bring order to the Ministries [as heard]. That is why I must choose the majority which wins, which will bring order to the country. This majority does not necessarily have to be on the side of the Union. It can be on another side.

So, I do not know what I will have to choose. I do not say anything against [words indistinct]. I do not say this, I say gentlemen, that I as the president must choose the majority option. And this majority need not at all be in this direction.

[Correspondent] It does not have to be, but you do not preclude such an option from the start?

[Walesa] I do not preclude it and cannot preclude it. I am speaking of something else, that if there is 51 percent then I have no choice. It must [word indistinct] from the Union. But it will not be like that at all. It may even be 49, then 51 will say I am not cooperating with the Union. Then I cannot choose this largest, the largest party, unless it makes a coalition, and so makes a democratic preponderance. Then again I must choose the Union. Gentlemen! As president I have many scenarios and I don't know—I know that I will have to cultivate parliament, that I will have to meet and try to see—where is this majority? Who wants to work with whom? That is because I want the prime minister and the government to have a longer period of time for action in order to sort things out as Poland demands it. Everyone demands it as we have failed to sort things out. In order to sort things out it has to be a majority prime minister, and that's what I shall be aiming for.

[Correspondent] If the Union has the majority, are you ready to designate Tadeusz Mazowiecki as prime minister?

[Walesa] Of course I am ready but again, gentlemen, I cannot stand it when people refuse to admit I am right. If in those days my scenario had been approved, where would Poland be now? We have lost at least a year and we are returning to the point where I said what should be done. That is why I am angry, because this constitutes experimenting on a live body, on Poland. That is why I get cross with the politicians because they are returning to the point where we were a long time ago.

Again, what we need today is not politicians. We have a surplus of politicians. Politicians are needed but they are secondary. Today Poland needs solutions to economic problems. What is needed is someone who knows about these things. Politics will be conducted by the president, the parliament, and others, even as parties, but not as the main goal.

Let us end the political matters and deal with people. Otherwise they will burn us.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, let us assume an optimistic variant; you have a good parliament, a majority, a majority government, good experts. How many years do you think will pass before we manage to extricate ourselves and become a normal country?

[Walesa] If the president is taken seriously and works well with the parliament then not too long. That is because we have enormous capacities. Only as I say, instead of working we are arguing about posts and we haven't finished the politics. We have not completed the most important stage, and this is disturbing our work. In connection with this, if we take care of the economy and human issues then things can be really different in Poland quite quickly, if we want to be in Europe but speaking organizationally, because we are in Europe on the map anyway.

But I am talking about being in Europe as solutions similar to Europe. So what's Europe like? It's private. We cannot privatize because we have a poor society. We have to subsidize nearly every single thing. So let's give this 100 million [figure as heard] to Poles as mortgages and let them try to solve their problems themselves. We haven't done this. Someone is constantly obstructing and making Polish privatization difficult. While on the side all sorts of privatizations are being arranged which are not completely clear, not completely legible, and not completely sensible. That is why it is going to be my task to persuade parliament to give Poland to the Poles as soon as possible, all enterprises, lands, and let them them cultivate this. Assuming that we have a poor society, that's the only way out for Poland. We cannot keep an eye on what's happening to the property, we are not going to make economic order, as the authorities, as the elite. But we are going to make it as a society.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, I don't quite understand. What is an average Pole to provide as surety for this mortgage, so that it is worth Z100 million?

[Walesa] What he gets from Poland. I proposed this scheme of 100 million and it was laughed at. Gentlemen, we have to create in every voivodship a bank of these millions I have spoken of. Every Pole who wants to have a shipyard can come to this bank and he has to get at least 100 million so that he can buy—for papers, not for money—so that he can buy Poland. That gets recorded as his mortgage. So we have to make quick acting notaries' offices in every voivodship so that they immediately record it as his property, that which he buys every Saturday at an auction when the voivoda auctions off entire streets, cities, every plot, every property. And no one will be able to tell me that he didn't have a chance to be a Polish millionaire, owner, and so on. He will be able to borrow at least 100 million, at the very least, and perhaps more, and he will have to give this back in 20 years' time, without interest, in money convertible today. When I first proposed this the figure was 10,000 dollars; he will have to give it back, but only in 20 years when he gets rich, when he sets ways and means in motion.

And that is not all. When he buys me a plot of land or something else he can sell it or enter into a contract with a joint venture or another, but it is he who will enter into this contract with his [word indistinct] and even if he starts up a company together with someone then it will be so stated in the law so that he immediately returns the money, this 10,000, and Poland will enrich itself. That is why this crude idea is the only idea that must be quickly started up. Again it is untrue that Poland... [Changes

thought] If everyone were to take 100 million then Poland is not worth that much. Poland is worth as much as will be paid for it. If we all have 100 million and want to buy this, this plate, then it will cost not five zloties but 500 zloties, so this is not the point. The point is in as quickly as possible returning, and in making similar through return, through ownership, to Europe. Everyone will cope with this ownership. Let us believe in this nation, let us give it that which the Commies took away, let us give back knowing that they do not have any money. But let us give it away so that it is not destroyed, and so everyone will account for it. In 20 years time.

[Correspondent] Meanwhile, privatization is running its course in a different way, very slowly, and is already arousing great social emotions. One of the high-ranking officials of the current administration did not seek to disguise his declaration that it is worth privatizing efficiently at the cost of justice. This means that it is appropriate to give industry and enterprises even to the post-communist nomenklatura for the money that it has, not paying attention to where it comes from. What do you think about this?

[Walesa] I do not agree with this. There are no equal opportunities. There are people who have indeed in various ways acquired money. It is necessary, it is necessary to check a few things, especially from the nomenklatura—this must be checked. I am convinced that we will bring this period to book. This is only a question of time. I will strive to introduce statutory nonlimitation for these attrocities from this period of reconstruction, because these are the most severe atrocities, when ill and bullied Poland is robbed on top of that—I do not let this go. No way. And so, we will return to this, only, well, this must not be, that means, this must not be a future program. But we will bring them to book.

But we have to create equal opportunities. That is why I don't want it so that at the very outset those with stolen money can buy it. I want to give the same opportunities to normal ordinary people. So at the very outset I want the buying out of Poland to be done by people who have the same number of papers and let them buy it with these papers. Of course they will be privileged because they will bring in machinery more quickly, but that's something I cannot influence. But I want to equalize the opportunities. Equalising opportunities means giving the same kind of money to everyone else who wants it and to let them buy strategic points in Poland only with this. Because others—perhaps something worthless and big can be sold to them—let them take it and choke on it. But national things have to be given to the Poles, the poor Poles. We can only attain justice if we give equal opportunities. And equal opportunities were in the president's idea voiced on the occasion of the election.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, we have received several hundred telephone calls with questions to you. Three-quarters of these calls concern the old-age and disability pensions act. Are you going to sign the bill?

[Walesa] Gentlemen, I am thinking very hard, because we must not hurt the pensioners who are poor anyway. But we cannot agree to one man having 800,000 and another 10 million [not further specified]. That is why I met Minister Boni and asked him to show me who this applied to. I think we have to find... [changes thought] The pensioners, with things as they are with us, all pensioners should fit in between one and two million, if there isn't enough money, or between two and three million. We maximally want justice at least after the working period, and this justice has to be found. So they are going to present to me exactly who this concerns. I want to take away from the biggest ones and give to the smallest ones. But it has to be arranged so that it fits within these logical limits. I am going to get all this, and if it fits within a fair share... [changes thought] Indeed we are going to take away from the biggest ones, that's right, we'll take it away, but we are going to give it to the smallest ones, there won't be any robbery here.

So we want a more just and sort of good-order scenario in the matter of old-age and disability pensioners. All this fits within the logic of this system. But this is painful, because if you are taking something away from someone they are going to feel bitter. But, as I say, I will sign this when I am familiar with it.

[Correspondent] Do you envisage consultations with the trade unions on the subject of the law on pensions and annuities?

[Walesa] Of course, it is necessary, and not just with me but altogether. As I say, we must agree that we take away from the largest and give to the smallest. But how to do this. Well, lets think. There is only so much money and no more. Well, one can print more. For the time being we are not printing. We will do this maximally justly, but that means painfully of course, for if someone were to have 8 million, and there are such people [sentence as heard]. Well, if he now has to return, because he will keep two, then he will have complaints, but also, ten will be satisfied and they deserve it too. So, more justly, ladies and gentlemen.

[Correspondent] What stance would you adopt in relation to this matter as chairman of a trade union?

[Walesa] Trade unions must concern themselves with justice, and they have to remember that people are in fact fairly equal. Of course, a miner will have worked harder than someone else. This all adds up. But this cannot all be so different—800,000 and 8 million—well, gentlemen! Well, it cannot be so in a period of crisis. There is no money; what to do when there isn't any?

[Correspondent] When should we expect a decision?

[Walesa] Of course, someone will say that this is an electoral game, and that after the elections the president will sign. Well yes, this will indeed settle, but not because I am playing electorally. Only that I must check, and there are so many problems that by the time they have checked it and counted it, because this must be counted

so that we don't get deceived. If this is just, and if it fits in with what I say, that in the framework, if pensions are in between, for instance, in between one and two million, or between two and three, and within this range, then I agree and will sign it. On the other hand, if those with the most were really to hurt again those taking little, then I will not agree to that, that's obvious.

[Correspondent] You promised that you will be among the people. There have been many telephone calls in which you have been accused of having closed yourself up in the Belweder Palace.

[Walesa] No. Only that, well, I am ashamed, I am sad that I am unable to fulfill that which I promised. I am so ambitious that I must attain this, but at this moment in which I find myself, as I say, I could attain by using the militia or the army to gather this, and Poles don't like that.

That is why I am waiting. I am paying, society is paying, but I am paying for acquiring the rights to that which is indispensible, in a formal and democratic way. Perhaps this too is a mistake, but we agreed to this. After all, we are struggling for democracy. That is why I cannot implement this trick, although this would perhaps even be nice, even perhaps effective. But that was probably not the point—these are other directions.

[Correspondent] You are president of Poland. According to the latest opinion polls, trust in you is falling, many fewer people would now vote for you. Simultaneously you are a person with great international prestige. Are you not afraid of the fact that in your case the old proverb will be confirmed, that no one is a prophet in their own land?

[Walesa] The question was not put directly, and there was nothing prior to the electoral campaign. I am convinced that if I were to say that which I and show that which I do—and many things I cannot even show for various reasons—then I am convinced that today I would win the presidential chair with finesse. Only, gentlemen, at the moment I am not struggling for that, I am not seeking support. At the moment I am struggling for the possibility of implementation. That is why one cannot, altogether these polls cannot be put thus. In Poland, Al Capone is still popular. But what about the popularity of the primate, the popularity of the president—these are two different popularities. That is why, and that is why things are not thus, this is not the point.

I used to say I don't want to be president, I will have to be president, and I have to be. I don't know if I will be up to it; I am convinced that I will. Because we together succeeded in defeating the commies, to win beautifully without a shot being fired. I am convinced that, of course, perhaps I will have to call on society and show what is taking place and where. Perhaps I will have to pay a high price. But I will lead Poland through, through this difficult period. Only it is necessary to concern oneself with something else today. So that I am able to implement this, so that the government is able to implement this, then let us at last put our political affairs in order. By not putting them in order we are walking along a short road to a great mess. After this mess we will implement the same as that which we are saying now.

There will be victims and I wouldn't want that. For the time being, on the brink, paying a big price, we are succeeding and I'm convinced that if we get through the elections—and some people are already making plans for strikes, so that if they lose the elections, they want to bring everything down. Gentlemen, don't make jokes. There are forces and means which will call those post-communist forces to order; but the post-communists will pay a higher price, I warn.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, many politicians think that Mr. Mieczyslaw Wachowski, the director of your office, is a very influential person in the Belweder, and not only there. Consultative Committee member Zdzislaw Najder has said that this is the most influential person in the state. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Walesa] Well, gentlemen, I have already spoken about those influences. The person who drives me around is a very great and influential person, for he can crash into a lamppost and hit it, so that death takes both him and me. So, those influences: of course, Wachowski is at the buffer, sorting out my diary. He's only human, so he has his whims too, but up to now I've been able to trust him and he does everything properly. Of course, so many problems can't be solved painlessly either. Some people have to be admitted, some not—perhaps not always rightly. So, he has a thankless role.

But as I say, they will be free within parties, free in this but for the objectives of the same thing. Perhaps this kind of arrangement, perhaps a different one. I don't know. I will select the option which will make it possible to implement my program or a program better than mine which I agree to.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, staying with issues of your office. You said in one of your interviews that after the elections a head of a party will not be able to be the head of the office. Does that mean that after the elections Mr. Jaroslaw Kaczynski cannot be the head of the office? That's one question. The other one: Is it true that you offered an important post in the office to Senator Andrzej Celinski? And if so, how important was it?

[Walesa] Gentlemen, I worked with Andrzej Celinski in that very difficult period and I have to say that he is a very capable man who understands me quite well, and I worked well with him. I think that over these few years he hasn't changed so much that we wouldn't be able to cooperate. I would like to work with Celinski, I don't deny that. But again, I don't know what kind of scenario I am going to get after the elections.

What was the first questions?

[Correspondent] Whether the head...

[Walesa, interrupting] Right, now, of course gentlemen, again, if Kaczynski loses, and he might, he might be thrown out by his own party and he might resent this party. If he wins he also might set himself up differently. So I cannot say whether I am going to give Kaczynski up or whether Kaczynski is going to give me up. I don't know.

[Correspondent] Is there no third possibility. Might you gentlemen not give each other up?

[Walesa] No, listen, Kaczynski—you know him well—Kaczynski is a great personality, Kaczynski has a head on his shoulders. Only it would be Kaczynski working in a different set up. Today he is working for pluralism, and that was how he was put forward. I wanted to oppose a monopoly, even of Solidarity. I performed this dividing maneuver which cost me a great deal. I could have had it differently, I could have been carried by the whole Solidarity, by the elite to safe places and so on. But I chose an option for Poland building from below, and in this case Kaczynski has paid a terrible price. Of course he saw that you cannot count all that much on Walesa, because he counts only on Poland and does not, like someone said, have the mafia approach or form personal attachments.

I have tied myself to Poland alone, and I choose the scenarios so as to faithfully serve Poland. Some are tired or else do not correspond to certain games, but not games for the president—for it to be clear—this is too small for me. They do not match the implementation of certain tasks. During this period Kaczynski measured up. However, he brought us up to the period of the elections, and if Kaczynski could work differently, and he can work, then it would be a pity if such a talent were to be rejected.

[Correspondent] Do you not assume that he will surely leave?

[Walesa] No, no. I assume one possibility or the other. Which will transpire I don't know, I don't know. Kaczysnki is dissatisfied with me and I with Kaczynski, but with everything, only with certain sectors. If we (?eliminate each other), then that is all okay, but whether we will eliminate we don't know. Perhaps life will do the eliminating.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you have spoken several times of those who steal in the transtition period. You spoke of this with great anger. But who is inside? Inside is the former chairman, the former but already Solidarity, lets say, chairman of the Polish National Bank [NBP], while of the one-time dignitaries, after all, no one. What do you think of this, of the arrest of an official who, first, is partly subservient to you, in accordance with the Constitution, and second, a very high official against whom no charges have been officially announced.

[Walesa] I cannot reply directly to this question, because this case is already with the Prosecutors' Office and someone else. I can only be angry that it was I who nominated him. I said: At Walesa's there is a very far-reaching freedom, but you are answerable for your territory. I do not allow any sentiments, even though you are my man or if I appointed you. If you dissapoint me, then all the consequences of this will be drawn. I once said that even if my wife were to break the law, then I will send her to jail too. That is the way it is, that the post demands this without question. It must be clean and clear, and we cannot permit so many fat cats to ship out Polish money. I hope, I am convinced, I will do everything myself, personally. I will ship such people as Bagsik, with his dollars, to Poland. I will be a detective. I will not let a Polish zloty be stolen from Poland.

How we do this is a technical question. I haven't got around to it yet because I have no time, because I struggle politically instead of solving problems, criminal and others. Let no one delude themselves that we are going to close our eye to something or forgive something. No forgiveness.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, Mr. President, but you have now twice called Mr. Bagsik a thief, in public, in the last 5 days. But there is no court judgment as yet.

[Walesa] My dear sir...

[Correspondent] Are you, as president, entitled to do so?

[Walesa] My dear sir, to make so much money in Poland that you can pay billions to someone else, while people earn 700,000—where did he get this money from? From Poland, from the wounded Poland, from the bruised Poland, as a fat cat? Even if the law allowed him to do so, he shouldn't have done it.

[Correspondent] Does that mean that everyone who has money is a thief?

[Walesa] No, but where did he get this money from? From the poor Poland? From whom? From the old-age pensioner, from the disabiled pensioner? That is if someone had the audacity, even if that money was just lying there, he shouldn't have taken it, that wasn't to be done. Everyone who took—a director, the higher educated, the higher the post—that money was lying there but no one was allowed to take it. He took it. He dodged the law, he drained the Poles. I will not forgive him for that, personally, him and the likes of him. Anyone who at that time took a Polish zloty and it wasn't his due, whether in accordance with the law or not, that's unimportant, had no moral right to steal from the battered and destroyed fatherland, that's the scandal.

Some present him as a fat cat. What kind of cunning is that? There is not enough money for schools, there is not enough money for pensions. Someone even under the law robs. Whom has he robbed? Walesa? Among others. But above all the pensioners and the poor Poland, the sick, destroyed, battered Poland. No, gentlemen.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, will you support those who strive for delegalizing martial law, because its remnants are still among us?

[Walesa] Gentlemen, I ask one thing, we cannot make future programs out of the past. We have to draw conclusions, we have to reclaim, improve the law, and make restitution. That's right. But the program for the future is a different matter, a different matter. You cannot go back, you have to go forward. But you have to settle scores too. So gentlemen, especially Communists, I know, I know directors, you have drained Poland because you were better prepared legally, you have shipped money out. All this, once the political issues are settled, we are going to get around to all this. It is only a question of time. I will make sure that everyone who at that time took money, a zloty from Poland, gets all his property confiscated, so that he gets left only with the socks that he is wearing. Will I carry this out? I will carry this out when Poland supports the elections, when it takes part in this. If it doesn't take part, the Communists will win, then I will give in.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you say that you are examining various scenarios, all manner of scenarios. Do they also include a scenario which envisages an explosion of mass public discontent directed against you? What would you do then?

[Walesa] I will be leading that explosion. I am as dissatisfied as the public—I haven't forgotten anything. I know that the public is right. But I also know so that the public notices my arguments, that if I want to act in accordance with the philosophy of democracy, pluralism, and the law, this law is bad, this law is Communist, but it has to be changed, without changing the law I am risking breaking it and a dictatorship. I don't want to be a dictator, I don't want to break the law. Allow me together with you to improve this law, to improve the law against the thieves, to improve the law on decisions, to improve the law on militia, on police, to improve many laws. That's not there. So don't force me to be able to break the law even if it's bad. I want to improve it, and improve it quickly. But until such time as its repaired, give the government the possibility of decrees so that it does not allow you to be wronged. But I don't have that.

[Correspondent] What would you say to those who say that things were better under the Commies?

[Walesa] That's right, under the Commies things were better, only my dear, it was better because that system worked out certain paths and it fitted in. But we said to ourselves that we had had enough of being different from Europe, that we had had enough of poor Poland and a stupid system. Now, when we are repairing this, turning back, as it were, these directions and tendencies, well, gentlemen.

[Walesa continues] If we do not understand each other then perhaps we need to put it a different way. If you are redecorating your house, there is a period of scaffolding, mess, and so on. At that moment there is a mess. But we must rise from this mess. Why? Because we apply patterns that are tried and tested in the world. So it cannot be worse. Of course, in order to remove this scaffolding we must first put everything back in order. Therefore, we must put the next presidency in order by winning the the election, through the attainment of the law, and through parliament. This means that together we will remove this scaffolding, that we will complete the painting. Without this I cannot and Poland cannot be improved. Because this is a complicated matter which much be intelligently resolved. And so, do not force me to make decisions, to make moves which are not in accordance with the philosophy that we are building. This is a drama, this is a stage, so it must be played.

[Correspondent] But shouldn't the president to force himself to do this?

[Walesa] To make such a move?

[Correspondent] Yes.

[Walesa] But gentlemen, in our country society always reacts or even helps those who have suffered wrongs. If I carry out a maneuver similar to General Jaruzelski, well, gentlemen! One thing is that there will be opposition, one thing is that this is not in accordance with the direction. No. This cannot be done. I do not know whether or not I will have to do this, but one cannot, because this is not in this direction, this moves away, this is turbulent, this is not democratic. That is why I am on the margin—I have many times already, but I will not now—it is not at all clear whether or not to play such a trick, but I cannot, because it would work not, and take it another way: the whole West - they will after all immediately say what is this, a dictatorship, only it is called Walesa [sentence as heard].

Come on, this is not the way. Can a Pole not come to an understanding with a Pole having the opportunities? Of course there are those who make a fuss—of course the Commies say that—that these are two years of Solidarity governments that have done this. Gentlemen, first, this is the legacy: indebtedness and bad management, bad factories, and bad foundries. This, and yet another thing: after all, for these two years the Commies were 65 percent present, and almost entirely in the provinces, in the region, at all the mediating levels. It was they who decided what took place in Poland, and they decide today. Let them not wriggle out of it by saying that they do not exist any more. They do. They are the ones pushing us into this. And why haven't we put this in order? Well, how could we have put this in order when we couldn't get through the most important thing—parliament—we couldn't give...

[Correspondent interrupting] But haven't you deluded yourself into helplessness?

[Walesa] No, no, gentlemen, perhaps here you have hit the bull's eye. Because I couldn't work like that officially, I couldn't get past certain things, then I was doing them behind the scenes. Evidence of this is that I have shown

Poland what talks between major politicians look like, what my talks with ministers and the prosecutor look like. It was not that in the first conversation Walesa immorally showed how some things work behind the scenes; no. It's just that sometimes I have had enough of this. After the 50th phone call I say: Listen you, tell Poland that it's not the president, that if the president could do that he would have to break the law, or take an axe and, I don't know, cut it up. It is not the president who is at fault, it is just that he has to act according to civility. If he doesn't do that, I show him to Poland or I say: look;, I show him lightly in order not to cause anger, not to do things that are immoral, so I show that I work but I work behind the scenes, that I urge on, that I force, that I persuade, that I ask, because I cannot do that in other areas.

Poland does not see this, Poland does not know this. That is why it thinks that the president is ineffective, that he does not work, that he has got himself a cosy place and things are alright for him there. No. I work extremely hard but I cannot show results because I have none; we have not finished the main business because we have tied our hands at the Roundtable. That which was alright had to be dismantled quickly so that political order, so that the struggle for the troughs, as someone put it, came to an end, and so that we could get down to work. But we cannot get down to work because we have not finished the building. Well, you cannot do the decorating when you have no roof. I have no roof and water is coming into Poland, because I have no parliamentary roof, the most important one. Now they say they won't be coming to the elections. Well, we'll never put it in order and won't get anything done at all. And the Commies fight on, gentlemen.

They fought for two years, tripping people up where only they could. If we do not finish off the Commies in a civilized and democratic way then we will finish—I am convinced that the people will move and will finish off the Commies, and will find everyone, but in such a way that post-mortems and doctors will be required. Lets hope this doesn't come about, and I pray for this.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, who will you invite to the Belweder Palace for breakfast on the Monday after the elections?

[Walesa] On Monday probably not yet [as heard]. That is because no one will know all the other things. I on the other hand am afraid that those who will probably, according to the logic and intelligence of Poles must lose to the end, those have already announced strikes, and they will want to restore that which democracy establishes. They will play on a vast (?canvas), and in a moment they will try to make the last leap. I will not allow them to do this, but there might be a cost to this. That is why I warn and request. In this period at least a month will be required in order to put Polish affairs in order. For a month society must stand it, we must provide an opportunity to put things in order. If not then we are threatened with anarchy and all the consequences associated with this.

[Correspondent] That means that this breakfast will take place a month after the elections?

[Walesa] No. There will be many of these breakfasts, because there will be many talks—first the victors must count themselves, the clubs and clubettes must count themselves. I must see who is with who in the first rank, because this is about size and so on. And so this will be quite a complicated problem. Until there are reliable data there might be errors. I cannot make too many errors because I have already made some.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, we thank you very much for your...

[Walesa interrupting] Already! I am just getting started, for crying out loud!

[Correspondent] An hour has passed.

[Walesa] Oh Jesus.

[Correspondent] We wanted to present to you the questions that we have written down over three days. Several hundred people have phoned. We did not succeed in asking all of them. We would however request that you familiarize yourself with them and insofar as possible, reply.

[Walesa] Do you draw the same conclusions as I, that in essence you of course as fairly advanced politicians indeed asked things in a rather more political way, and rightly so. On the other hand, most people who ask and set questions are, it can be seen that they are helpless, they are lost, they need help. It is they that phone above all because they cannot cope with this reality. We practice politics and do not perceive all these problems. Again, if you evaluate this similarly, everything must be done for people to understand that all this comes from the fact that we did not in our time put in order the most important thing—politics. And it is still affecting, it is still hampering, hampering us in our work.

[Correspondent] In this respect people are counting precisely on you.

[Walesa] Well, I am glad, but let them give me executive possibilities, don't let them force me into a coup d'etat or something similar. Because it doesn't just matter whether I would be able to do it. They are sitting there too. After all, they would; I would order a right turn and they would go left. That's one thing. Second, all those who were rejected, even a dissolved parliament, would meet in some crypt somewhere and hold council against me. Well, gentlemen, well, (?you know), we are living in a real moment in time, when there is a struggle against us by the Commies, and also by different political directions which are also specifically struggling for power. That is why this is both a tragedy and an opportunity. I believe in wisdom. I only have a grievance against you,

in that you do not speak like we speak now. Where does this evil come from? That it is not the president's fault, that it is the fault of the arrangements and the burden of the enormity of reforms. And they, they cost. And nothing comes for free here.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, let us wait patiently until Sunday and perhaps these elections will clarify something.

[Walesa] That's right, because if not, I will have to clarify it. That's democracy for you.

All right, listen, thank you. You've probably recorded too much of this.

Walesa 'Certain' of High Election Turnout

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[Report on interview with President Lech Walesa by unidentified PAP correspondent in Warsaw on 24 October]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—"I hope that despite complaints against the president and other political figures, society will take part in the elections, defeat the vestiges of communism, and put things in order in this country," President Lech Walesa told a PAP interviewer Thursday. "I am certain that the turnout will be high," he added.

"The parliamentary elections will close the period which began with the round table conference (in the spring of 1989)," Lech Walesa also said. "The conference was a compromise, it was a great success, but life outpaced its results. In effect, the compromise later tied our hands when it came to a political completion of the polish reforms.

"The elections put an end to this state of affairs, creating an opportunity to proceed to issues which are most important for poland, ie. structural and economic reforms.

"I expect the new parliament to be authoritative, originating as it will from free and universal elections and not from a deal struck by political groups. The political elites which created the present parliament represented solidarity on the one hand and the communists on the other. The arrangement they worked out was good in its time, but now we need a completly different arrangement, identical to those functioning in all democratic states," said the president.

"We secured a soft landing of the communists, hoping that they will behave with dignity and draw conclusions (from the past), and, consequently that we will jointly carry out the programme of reforms in poland. The majority of communists availed themselves of this opportunity, but some, small in number but very conspicuous, have taken a course that none of us can accept. They have penetrated the economy, exploited legal loopholes created by communist legislators in the past and preyed on our willingness to build Poland together," Walesa went on.

The president said that although the newly elected parliament could prove less powerful than the outgoing one as far as the personalities of its members were concerned, "it will be a parliament elected by the nation and a partner for the president. Until now I have not collaborated with the parliament because if I had, I would have given a seal of approval to the arrangement created by the round table, instead of working to dismantle it."

"The new Polish political scene that will emerge from the forthcoming elections, will pave the way for crystallization of political parties, especially those which are rooted in our tradition, our Christian tradition. The groups which fielded candidates in elections, such as the Centre Alliance, the Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, etc., are only the harbingers of political parties in the proper sense of the term.

"We need political parties which will express the moods and opinions of the public. The parliament should be the place of political debate. (...) this will prevent politics from overflowing onto the streets. (...) I want to cooperate with exactly such parliament, one that will express the spirit of the nation," Walesa declared.

"I will often attend Sejm and Senate debates," the president said, adding that he wanted a strong legislature, not a weak one as some of his critics have suggested. "(...) a parliament should be strong by its power of persuasion and the support of social groups represented by deputies (...) the parliament should be strong enough to pass the new constitution."

Senate Unanimously Approves German Treaties

LD2510045491 Warsaw PAP in English 2315 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—In an unanimous voting the Senate (upper house) Wednesday gave a green light to the ratification by President Walesa of the two Polish-German treaties earlier supported by the Sejm (lower house).

The two treaties (of 14 November, 1990 confirming the existing Polish-German border, and of 17 June, 1991 on good neighbourly relations and friendly cooperation) close the past and open historic prospects of cooperation of both states in a new Europe, says the resolution passed by the Senate on the occasion.

The united German state confirmed the existing border with Poland as final and inviolable, goes on the resolution. Germany took up the obligation to support Poland's justified striving to become a member of the European Communities. The treaties assume that in a new Europe borders should not divide people but unite them. The treaties should be implemented in practice by

regional and transborder cooperation and launching joint economic and cultural programmes.

The Senate welcomed the setting up of the "Polish-German reconciliation foundation" which will pay compensation to selected Polish victims of the Third Reich.

There was one point in the 1991 treaty which aroused controversy during today's Senate session, which found reflection in the fact that the resolution was adopted with 4 abstentions. Some of the senators found unacceptable the fact that the treaty used the terms "German minority in Poland", but "Poles in Germany".

Also Wednesday the Senate rejected the act on radio and television broadcasting passed by the Sejm last week, citing legislative and substantive faults of the act, notably its complete silence on the existing institutions of public radio and TV.

The rejection was overwhelming, with 52 votes for, 6 against and 8 abstentions.

By contrast, the Senate smoothly approved several other Sejm acts passed during the same session last week, including the law on financial statements and certified auditors.

Wednesday was the first day of the present Senate sitting, the last one in the present term. Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski told the chamber that President Lech Walesa was expected to attend their meeting on Thursday afternoon and possibly deliver an address.

National Anthem Closes 61st Senate Sitting

LD2510093291 Warsaw PAP in English
0129 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—The laws passed by the present Sejm and Senate in the past two years marked the beginning of a process of a historic dimension, namely the reconstruction of the political and socio-economic systems of Poland, says the resolution adopted by the Senate Thursday.

These acts have opened the way for further reforms, the document goes on. The legislature of the third Polish Republic strictly adhered to the principle of priority of parliamentary legislation over the activity of the executive branch, and it resisted pressure to put politics before the law.

The resolution says that the principles of lex retro non agit and inviolability of legally acquired rights are the basis of security and confidence in economic relations and the social security of citizens.

The Senate stands firmly on the ground of continuity of the state and law as the basis of internal order in the state and its credibility in international relations. On the other hand, the Senate deems it necessary to work towards restoring just rights to citizens deprived of them in result of communist reprisals.

Finally, the Senate says in its resolution that it is absolutely necessary that in the future the main lines of economic and social policies be presented to and approved of by the Sejm and Senate in the form of laws. The present practice of setting forth these objectives outside parliament and limiting its role to passing specific laws being just executive orders to the general policy lines should be abandoned.

Before adopting the resolution summing up the two-year legislative activity of the present parliament, the Senate approved of the constitutional amendment passed by the Sejm last week and concerning political asylum for foreigners and stateless persons. Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski tried to tie this amendment to a proposal of far-reaching changes in the Constitution which would strengthen the executive branch. However, he was opposed by the senate's constitutional committee and lost narrowly in the voting (28 to 32, with 3 abstentions).

Also today the Senate heard a report of its constitutional committee on the amended draft of the new constitution prepared on Senate's initiative, independently of the Sejm draft. After a lengthy discussion concerning individual phrases the Senate resolved to hand over the draft to the next parliament as an auxiliary material.

The last, 61st sitting of the upper house in the present term of office ended in singing the national anthem.

Bielecki Attends Conference on Kaliningrad Trade

LD2510094691 Warsaw PAP in English
0135 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Suwalki, Oct. 24—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki told a meeting in Goldap, north-eastern Poland, on Thursday that the road to the integration of the Soviet north-western region of Kaliningrad into Europe led through Poland.

Prime minister Bielecki took part in a conference on trade and economic cooperation with a Free Economic Zone of Kaliningrad in the Russian Republic, attended by governors of the Polish northern and eastern provinces of Elblag, Gdansk, Olsztyn and Suwalki, local businessmen and officials of the Soviet Embassy.

"The moment the Kaliningrad region becomes a free zone, great chances for cooperation open up as Poland is a natural crossroads of the important international east-west and north-south arteries," the prime minister said.

He added that Poland wanted to join in boosting international cooperation and planned the construction of a part of a motorway that would lead via the Kaliningrad region and the Baltic states to Scandinavia.

Commercial Councillor of the Soviet Embassy Georgiy Shchukin stated the Soviet side was very interested in developing trade between border regions in both countries and said the Russian and other republics were planning to ease relevant regulations.

Stolojan Receives UN Human Rights Official

AU2410210191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1937 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan received on Thursday [24 October] afternoon Joseph Voyame, UN rapporteur general for Romania, now on a visit to Bucharest to get informed for a report on human rights.

On the occasion the Romanian premier spoke about the government's efforts to consolidate the democratic institutions of the state of law apt to guarantee the observance of all citizens' rights and freedoms.

As government sources have reported the guest was appreciative of the positive course of democratic processes in Romania and expressed the hope that, on the basis of what he saw, the report that will be submitted to the United Nations would contribute to improving Romania's image in the world.

Stolojan Resumes Weekly News Conferences

AU2410203891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1917 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—Thursday, October 24, the weekly news conferences of the government were resumed at Victory Palace. Present was Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan who has kept his promise to meet the representatives of the Romanian and foreign press as often as possible. Mrs. Iolanda Staniloiu is the new spokesmen for the Romanian Government.

In the first half of the news conference, the current activity of the government was presented, mentioning that top of the agenda were the consultations the premier had with the members of his government, and an analysis of the economic and social situation of the country and the course of the reform. Wednesday, October 23, a government sitting was held, that tackled issues of first priority for the Romanian economy, such as the power supply for this winter, to enable a (normal) economic activity, the food supply, the closing of the agricultural campaign, the fighting of black marketeering, corruption, traffic of influence.

The prime minister then mentioned that all decisions referring to changes of substance as far as the reform is concerned would be discussed with the members of his cabinet. He also announced that Mihu Biji, secretary of state at the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection was nominated to represent the government at negotiations with the trade unions.

During the weekly press conference of the government, Premier Theodor Stolojan told journalists that a governmental commission had conducted the first social inquiry concerning the date of the local and general elections and that its results would be made known before Saturday. Next week the problem will be discussed with the representatives of the major parties represented to Parliament. However, it all depends on the moment the Parliament adopts the election law, he said.

As for a unique exchange rate of the dollar and, implicitly, the partial or total convertibility of the leu, Mr. Stolojan pointed out that the need to unify the rates of the leu was obvious as was that of achieving a break in the price system. To maintain the current state of disbalance means irresponsibility to the future of the Romanian economy, the prime minister said. It is necessary to change this state of affairs as soon as possible but this cannot be achieved before we are certain that the amounts of hard currency promised by the Group of 24 will be effectively at our disposal, the head of Romania's executive said.

There are economic solutions to anything, the prime minister said, but their consequences differ if the population chooses inflation or stability.

Referring to the economic blockage, Mr. Theodor Stolojan said the deblocking had virtually started in agriculture and proceeded at a slower place in industry. He said he intended to appoint Mr. Adrian Severin at the head of the National Privatization Agency.

Parliament Discusses Harghita-Covasna Report

AU2410193491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1751 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—The Romanian Senate and Assembly of Deputies opened Thursday, October 24, a joint session, at the Palace of the Metropolitan Church Hill, to debate the report of the Parliamentary Commission instituted for the hearing of the people who, after December 22, were compelled to leave their homes and work places in the counties of Harghita and Covasna. Attending are people who have made the object of the report. The Harghita-Covasna report was read in parliament last week. The parliamentarians representing the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] walked out of the sitting hall during the reading of the report.

The joint session of the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament devoted to debates on the Harghita-Covasna report was delayed by half an hour, at the request of the parliamentary groups, that wanted to clarify their stands and establish organizational matters. The group of the Hungarian Democratic Union asked that debates be postponed, giving as a reason the fact that they were not televised live. 60 parliamentarian were enlisted for debates. Senator Nicoara Diodor, representing the National Salvation Front, asked the plenum that the people attended the session, to whom the report refers, be permitted to express their opinions.

The resumption of the parliament proceedings was marked by the UDMR representative, Deputy Gheorghe Tokay's request that it should vote in plenum the live cast of the debates on the Harghita-Covasna report, assessing it to be

interesting to public opinion. The request stirred live protests, considering that when the report had been presented, the UDMR representatives had got out of the sitting room together. In the end, it was agreed that the proceedings be recorded and the television broadcast them integrally according to its possibilities.

Economic Minister Reviews State of Economy

AU2410203691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—Romania's present budget deficit maintains within controllable limits, the new minister of economy and finance, said.

In an interview with the newspaper "CURIERUL NATIONAL", Mr. George Danielescu rejected the idea that taxes were high in Romania. Quite on the contrary, he said, they are stimulating for investors as a new company pays no tax for the first six months, a company with foreign capital does not pay any tax for the first two years and large companies producing commodities for the market and offering jobs are exempted from taxes for the first five years. In this respect the minister said that though prices had gone up several times in the ongoing year, earnings from taxes on profits were not higher than last year's, which contributed to a double growth of the budget deficit this year (from an estimated 35 billion to roughly 70 billion). Small earnings from taxes are due to a drop in the production of commercial companies and of autonomous units, the minister admitted noting that "in absolute figures budget incomes are not lower." The budget deficit increased owing to a failure to cash in turnover taxes because of the financial blockage, that is to say "payments are not made and, consequently, taxes are not cashed in." Mr. Danielescu ruled out the possibility of introducing the value added tax earlier than December 31, 1992, as the whole operation implied extensive preparations in point of computer technology and specialized staff as well as big spending. However, the value added tax "will correctly mirror the contribution of each economic agent to the rise in the value of a product, a moment of truth being reached in the Romanian economy." It will be finally apparent which company adds value and which company merely consumes.

Answering a question concerning a possible rise in the budget deficit by year's end, Mr. George Danielescu said that the transition to a unique rate of the leu might influence the budget deficit. The new rate of the leu, he said, will be established between the official rate of 60 lei per US dollar and the market rate of 300 lei per US dollar. None of the two rates is the true one. The new rate, which will be real in relation to the purchasing power of the national currency, will undoubtedly increase the prices of imports and will entail a general rise in prices. There are different scenarios for the establishment of a unique rate, the minister said quoting inter alia 200 lei per US dollar, as "a gloomy prognostication", and 90-110 lei per US dollar as "a dream that may come true." The fact is certain, he said, that "if the dollar is too expensive the economy will explode. Both inflation and the stability of the government will be out of control."

Positive Development of Foreign Investments Noted

AU2410120591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0909 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/10/1991—As the process of building the economic and legal framework for a free market economy in Romania as many as 1,501 commercial companies with foreign capital participation were set up in 1990, with a total nominal capital of 5,615,056 thousand lei, including a hard currency part of 118.69 million dollars.

Pursuant to the provision of a relatively well defined format for foreign investments in Romania 4,767 commercial companies with foreign capital participation were registered in the first nine months of 1991, totalling a hard currency nominal capital of 120.06 million dollars. The total number of commercial companies with foreign capital participation stands now at 6,288, with a total nominal capital in hard currency of 248.75 million dollars.

These investments were made by natural and juristic persons from 91 countries. Worth mentioning is also the fact that foreign partners from 17 countries invested in over 100 commercial companies. Likewise, commercial companies of 27 countries invested over one million dollars.

A salient feature of the foreign investments in Romania, stated Florin Bonciu, director, the Romanian Development Agency, in an interview with ROMPRES, is that there is a very big number of small foreign investments and a very small number of major investments with notable effects at a national scale. So, 0.59 percent of the total number of commercial companies with foreign participation cover some 52 percent of the total invested capital, and 92 percent of the total number of commercial companies with foreign capital participation cover 19 percent of the invested capital.

However, he stressed, one may speak of a positive evolution chronologically. After a first stage in 1990 and the early half of 1991, when small and very small foreign investments were prevalent, made by natural persons, in the second half of 1991 big firms started to show a greater interest, some of them making important investments (Coca-Cola, Colgate-Palmolive, etc).

EBRD Sets Condition for Giving Assistance

AU2410192891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1759 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—In the talks held at Brasov with top executives of important banks and companies operating in Romania, Bart le Blanc, secretary general of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] stated that, although the EBRD had shaped its assistance programme for Romania in cooperation with Petre Roman government, it would cooperate with

the new Romanian Cabinet but added that the success of the EBRD programme in Romania depended on the way the Romanian prime minister would come to an agreement with the trade unions.

Agriculture Official Views Reasons for Poor Crops

AU2410211491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/10/1991—"The country's bread basket will be one million hectares shorter in 1992" warns Mr. Ovidiu Grasu, state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and food, in the newspaper "ADEVARUL" of October 24. Explaining the causes behind that situation, Mr. Grasu shows inter alia: a correct, complete answer ineluctably questions the very way in which the fundamental restructuring of the Romanian agriculture was thought. There were many who believed the fundamental problems in this area will solve by themselves by merely resettling the peasants. In reality, resettlement, the way it was conceived and the way it materialized, confronted peasants with problems of capital importance for their economic survival. The land of former cooperative farms is now divided into more than six million households most of which lack rudimentary implements. A reality that is paralleled by a general disorganization in the countryside, which is impossible to liquidate in the current conditions in which most experts are not resorted to and some of them were driven away....

In the same string of ideas, Mr. Grasu opines that while the draft land law was being discussed too many ideas were set forth on the organization of that sector and, especially, on ways of cooperation between this sector and current land owners. The fact was ignored that in order to be operational tractors and harvesting combines need fuel and people to run them. That these fundamental elements are absent or ensured only to a small extent is shown by daily work rates, which account for only 30-40 per cent of the existing potential.

The most serious difficulties are caused by the shortage of fuel. Consequently, county agricultural bodies were obliged to resize their sowing programmes and at present there is the real threat that roughly one million hectares, which should have been under wheat and barley, remain unsown. As the country's alimentary security is at stake, the solution can only be a radical one, taken on a government level. What we need is not only credits for the smooth run of farming operations but also seeds and fertilizers and especially, subsidies to encourage producers to opt for an intensive system of land cultivation. An immediate subsidy from the budget—of 25-30 billion lei at the most—would provide for the relaunching of the current farm campaign and the preparation of next year's production in the best possible conditions.

International

Budapest Cites Belgrade Report on Aid to Croatians

LD2410094191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Yugoslav television has yet again accused Hungary of delivering arms to Croatia by air. In the Belgrade television news program yesterday, a commentator stated that Croat terrorists are being trained in several camps in Hungary. Three training centers operate in Hungary on former Soviet firing ranges, the Belgrade television commentator added.

Official Rejects Hungarian Charges

LD2310000191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1821 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Prague, Oct 22 (TANJUG)—Hungary is behaving as though it were a side to the Yugoslav conflict, head of the Yugoslav delegation Novak Pribicevic said here today, at a session of the committee of high officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Responding to a sharp attack from the head of the Hungarian delegation to the effect that the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia is in mortal danger, Pribicevic, who is the assistant Yugoslav federal foreign secretary, told the participants in the discussion that the situation was equally difficult for all people in the areas of armed conflicts and not only for the Hungarian minority.

He described as a gross distortion of the truth the attempt to single out ethnic Hungarians in Yugoslavia's army of refugees.

Pribicevic said he would request a special CSCE commission to establish the facts and report to the committee.

Peace Talks Start Despite Boycott by Serb Bloc

AU2510114591 Paris AFP in English 1118 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, Oct 25 (AFP)—The presidents and foreign ministers of Yugoslavia's six republics met here Friday with European Community mediator Lord Carrington, but the latest session of the EC peace conference was marred by the absence of pro-Serbian members of the country's collegial presidency.

The EC-sponsored peace conference began more than an hour late due to the absence of the Serbian bloc of the federal presidency: Serbia, Montenegro and the Serbian Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

The four said Thursday that they would boycott the conference if it did not agree to discuss their own peace plan, which calls for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina to cede territory dominated by ethnic Serbs for inclusion in a smaller federation that would in turn amount to a greater Serbia.

The Serbian bloc also demanded that Croatia lift its blockade of federal army bases in the republic.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was present at the session, the third plenary meeting of the EC peace conference, alongside Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and the leaders of Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia.

All six men met separately with Carrington prior to the plenary session, which is taking place amid intensified fighting across Croatia and growing political unrest inside both Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Carrington, Milosevic Meet; Hague Session Delayed

LD2510112291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The beginning of the third plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia, planned for today at 1030, has been delayed because of talks which are taking place in private between Lord Carrington, the chairman of the conference, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, TANJUG has learned. Only after these talks, which were not previously announced, is it expected that the plenary session will begin.

Slovene President Milan Kucan, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic arrived at The Hague this morning.

Stjepan Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Presidency Member Vasil Tupurkovski have also arrived in the Netherlands capital. Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar, Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, and Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov arrived in The Hague before the evening session.

New EC Proposal for Future Yugoslav State

LD2410155791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 24 (TANJUG)—The European Community has fomulated another proposal on the future Yugoslav state. The document proposes new relations between "sovereign and independent republics" or the setting up of "a free association of the republics with an international personality."

In the framework of a general settlement, the document entitled "Treaty Provisions for the Convention", envisages the recognition of the independence, within the existing borders, unless otherwise agreed, of those republics wishing it.

The document suggests that "new relations between the six Yugoslav republics be based on comprehensive arrangements, including supervisory mechanisms for the protection of human rights and special status for certain groups and areas."

"Special status of autonomy is envisaged for areas in which persons belonging to a national or ethnic group form a majority."

The document also proposes European involvement "where appropriate."

It also says that "the republics recognize that cooperation between them is part of the process of building a new Europe envisaged in the Paris charter of November 1990, without precluding closer forms of cooperation in such areas between republics that so wish."

The three commissions of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia have been discussing the document since yesterday, and the document is to be on the agenda of the plenary session of tomorrow"s summit in The Hague, which is to be attended by all participants in the Yugoslav crisis.

A separate chapter on the document deals with human rights and the rights of ethnic or national groups, specifying that the republics guarantee human rights on the basis of international documents of the United Nations, the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe), the Paris charter for a new Europe, and other international documents relating to the human dimension.

The document also provides for the setting up of a court of human rights.

The part dealing with economic relations says that "the republics shall base their policies on the principles of market economy, private property and free enterprise, and openness to world trade."

The document says that the republics will in this way establish "a customs union with the aim of maintaining a common internal market."

It also envisages that "in the absence of a common currency and currency convertibility, the republics should consider for their mutual transactions the establishment of a common payments system, based upon a clearing mechanism and a reserve fund."

Cooperation among the republics is planned within councils for economic cooperation in various fields, for foreign affairs and security, and for legal cooperation.

"Any dispute between republics concerning the implementation or application of the convention will be subject to binding arbitration under procedures which ensure that it cannot be obstructed."

"Arbitration may be initiated at the request of any republic which considers that another republic is in breach of any of its obligations," the document sets out.

Army-European Community Talks Open in Cavtat

LD2410163591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Cavtat, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Talks opened in Cavtat this afternoon between representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army and members of the EC peace mission.

Before the talks, held behind closed doors, were due to start, Lieutenant Colonel Radoslav Svicevic told journalists that most attention would be devoted to humanitarian actions, especially the evacuation of those who wish to go south.

"We will also tell them," said Svicevic, "that the Ustasha forces are consistently violating the cease-fire and that we can no longer tolerate it." Although he said that he "has no reliable proof," Lieutenant Colonel Svicevic confirmed that "there are good chances that the authorities in Dubrovnik are holding the Serbs from this city as hostages." According to him, "It is impossible that none of them wanted to be evacuated toward Herceg Novi. We even provided them with a list of names of people and families who want to be evacuated, but the authorities are saying—which is a complete mystery to us—that they do not want to be evacuated," said Svicevic.

Federal

Kostic Convenes Presidency Session 24 Oct

LD2410144791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1408 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY presidency, presided over by Vice President Branko Kostic, was held in the Palace of the Federation in Belgrade today. It was announced that the President of the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs, and the Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs also participated.

At today's session, the SFRY Presidency had intended, with the participation of all members of the SFRY Presidency, to establish the platform for the third plenary meeting of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, convened for 25 October 1991. However, the new text of the proposal for a global solution of the Yugoslav crisis was not sent by Lord Carrington to the SFRY Presidency.

The SFRY Presidency decided, in connection with the third plenary meeting of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, and relating to this the letter of Lord Carrington, to send to the chairman of the conference on

Yugoslavia a letter containing the stances of the SFRY Presidency and to make both letters available to the public.

The letter of Lord Carrington to SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic reads:

"According to the agreement of last Friday, the next plenary meeting of the conference on Yugoslavia will be held on Friday, 25 October 1991 at the level of republican president.

"It would give me pleasure to greet the Federal Presidency in its full complement, that is, all its eight members, at the next plenary meeting scheduled for 25 October. Considering the controversy surrounding the Federal Presidency, no other option is possible.

"I therefore ask you to inform me in advance and in sufficient time whether all eight members will indeed be present at the meeting. I am sending a copy of this letter to Branko Kostic.

"Please accept my sincerest regards, Mr. President."

The letter of Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic to Lord Carrington says:

"Assuring you once again of our high esteem, we would like to reiterate that the SFRY Presidency is not only interested in participation in the work of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, but, according to the SFRY Constitution, is the body in the country directly responsible for the questions which are the subject of the work of the conference.

"However, objectively, the SFRY Presidency is not able to take part in the plenary session of the conference which has been convened for 25 October. There are several important reasons for this.

"First, the SFRY Presidency stresses that the Republic of Croatia has not carried out its commitment to lift the blockade of Yugoslav People's Army garrisons which its president signed in the presence of the president of the EC Ministerial Council and the chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia. The consistent and immediate fulfilment of this undertaking, as well as a cease-fire and the establishment of a stable truce, represent an essential condition for our further involvement in the conference and for seeking a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Believe that your involvement is also necessary in order that these decisions are strictly implemented.

"Also, the way in which the conference has proceeded so far, if it is not changed, seriously brings into question the further participation of the SFRY Presidency in its work. We, therefore, believe that it is necessary to clearly define the procedure and method of work of the conference. It is unacceptable that the right to make statements for the representative of the SFRY Presidency, or its members, is dependent upon the decision of the chairman of the conference.

"May we say at the same time that we have not yet received the new proposal for tomorrow's plenary session. On the basis of our experience so far, we are convinced that the proposal should reach us promptly so that we have reasonable amount of time to examine it and give all proposals and options equal treatment, including the proposals which were submitted to you by the Presidency in the form of its critical positions on the draft for resolving the state and political crisis in Yugoslavia.

"We stress in particular that final decisions on the country's future can only be passed by the authorized organs in Yugoslavia, in a procedure laid down by the SFRY Constitution.

"Unless goodwill for securing these minimum demands is shown, the SFRY Presidency sees no real possibility of taking on responsibility for the decisions on which it can have no influence and, objectively, is not in possibility to take part in the conference proceedings under such conditions.

"Yours respectfully," signed Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

Vice President Kostic Interviewed on Crisis

AU2410131891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Oct 91

["Exclusive" interview with Branko Kostic, SFRY vice president, by Belgrade Television correspondent Branka Mihajlovic in Belgrade on 23 October—recorded]

[Text] [Mihajlovic] As soon as the unofficial news was announced last night that this meeting with an unusual composition will be held today, it was commented upon as, here we go, a new AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia].

[Kostic] Well, it is not the new AVNOJ that this is all about but the fact that some republics have already grossly violated the Constitution to a great extent and declared unilateral secession from Yugoslavia, organized state institutions, their own army and so forth. All this contrary to the Yugoslav Constitution.

On the other hand we have a large number of people, citizens, who wish to remain in Yugoslavia, live together, and extend the continuity of this state. So far, no initiatives have been put forward to examine in some way the wishes and willingness of the most responsible representatives of these territories as regards the aforementioned desires.

[Mihajlovic] I must ask you, we are talking about Serbian people, and the representatives of the Montenegrin people, but we will talk about this separately. Do you believe that they could be the legal successors of Yugoslavia, which was composed of six nations?

[Kostic] Well, I would not say that they are the representatives of only the Serbian and Montenegrin nations.

The members of other nations also live on these territories. With today's meeting we wanted to point out, in a certain way, to the international community and to those who are persistently destroying Yugoslavia, as well as to The Hague peace conference, that it is not possible to impose solutions with mathematical figures and ratios—for instance 4:2, or 5:1—on those who represent more than 52 percent of all residents currently living in Yugoslavia. We have calculated that the representatives of the nations who attended today's consultative meeting, arrived here in the name of some 12.6 million of our citizens. I would especially like to draw attention to the fact that the representatives of the only two states that acquired their stateship at the Berlin Congress of 1878 were present here today and that their stateship was built into Yugoslavia in 1918. In other words, we wanted to say that one cannot give more rights and more priority to those who did not have their own state, who wish to leave this state unilaterally and by force, as opposed to those who want to preserve this state and continue living in it.

[Mihajlovic] Could you please explain the legal status of the representatives of the Serbian Autonomous Regions [SAO] of Krajina?

[Kostic] From my point of view and to my understanding, the legal status of the representatives of the SAO of Krajina is constitutional to about the same extent as the status of the present authorities in Croatia. Namely, the Croatian authorities have departed from the SFRY Constitution and violated it, while the Serbian nation in the Krajinas has rebelled and did not recognize such a Croatian Constitution. Therefore, we are witnessing the same reaction here. There is, perhaps, greater constitutionality in these autonomous regions in the sense that these regions accept and observe the SFRY Constitution.

[Mihajlovic] A small number of guests did not respond to the invitation, Bulatovic and Djukanovic among them, it has been observed. Is this related to the last night's session of the Presidency, that is to say, Momir Bulatovic's stance in The Hague?

[Kostic] Well, we had a very long session last night, we stayed until 0200 [0100 GMT] in the morning. The session of the Montenegrin Assembly will probably discuss this. Without prejudicing the matter I can openly state that we obviously differ in our views on how to resolve the crisis. However, it would be absolutely unacceptable to judge his stance in The Hague as a betrayal simply because, objectively speaking, until now, during all of this period, the state and political leadership of Montenegro has demonstrated really strong commitment, also in a practical sense, to Montenegro and the Montenegrin citizens' engagement in protecting those that are endangered. This was the case when the position of Serbs and Montenegrins was endangered in Kosovo and now when the Serbian people are endangered in Croatia. I think that so far it was the state organs of Montenegro that have virtually done more than anybody else, in the sense of engaging men, equipment [potencijal], and so forth, and in providing support to the Yugoslav People's Army. It is possible that the lack of feeling for this kind of mobility in some regions, which should be equally interested, creates justified dissatisfaction in Montenegro, especially the mass desertions of the units, desertion from the front and so forth.

There are differences between us and these differences remain in our views on how to resolve the country's political crisis. It appears to me that there are no essential differences in our main tenets concerning living together in Yugoslavia in the future. After all, we will be in a position to discuss this at the Montenegrin assembly session tomorrow.

[Mihajlovic] Were these, as you said, methodological differences with those members of the Presidency of Montenegro who were present also evident today ?

[Kostic] I do not think that they were evident, because the Montenegrin delegation was represented today by Dr. Risto Vukcevic, president of the Montenegrin Assembly. I think that what he said represents clear confirmation of the basic political commitment that has been present up to now. Considering the misunderstandings that have developed, I even used the opportunity today to tell all those present that it would not be advisable or useful to create out of this some kind of media controversy, so to speak, or to look for differences in the our views. Finally, I think that one should not consider tragic the fact that in the search for the way and method of resolving the crisis we do have differences, but I am nevertheless convinced that there are no differences in our main political orientations and positions.

[Mihajlovic] In a conversation with me several days ago, you said that your moves depend on the political will of the people on behalf of whom you are making certain political decisions. Last night you virtually adopted a decision to carry out general mobilization. Are you sure that you know the political will of the Montenegrin people? I must ask you this because of the political differences concerning the move by Momir Bulatovic in The Hague.

[Kostic] At the session of the SFRY Presidency several days ago, that was held the night before departure for The Hague conference, when I did not know what positions the Assemblies of Montenegro or Serbia would adopt because they did not finish their sessions, I publicly expressed my view and conviction that the Montenegrin people would be prepared today to mobilize themselves to the last person if necessary. They would be prepared to help protect the Croatian people, the Serbian people in Croatia, that are in danger, the people who are in danger in Hercegovina, and so forth. It is obvious, however, that the people of Montenegro cannot do that alone. Therefore, this would be done together with all others, and with the equal activities and mobilization of others.

I also expressed the view that the Montenegrin people would be prepared to mobilize themselves to the last person, even if they were the only ones left there, to protect Prevlaka [peninsula] and its sovereignty over Boka Kotorska. If my prediction or my feeling of what the mood of the Montenegrin people is wrong, than this will become obvious very soon.

[Mihajlovic] What about after this meeting?

[Kostic] With this meeting, we in fact wanted to mobilize the representatives of the most responsible sections of the people who are interested in preserving Yugoslavia. We wanted them to meet in the shortest possible time. We wanted the assemblies of the republics—the assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro will do that tomorrow—and the federal assemblies, together with the representatives of these people, to meet as soon as possible. We wanted them to take a stand on the measures taken by the SFRY Presidency and, on the basis of these, to adopt positive positions and orientations. We also want them to carry out concrete activities that would contribute to the full mobilization of the people and all other capabilities, not in the sense of putting everyone in a uniform, but to place all capabilities, institutions, state organs and so forth in the service of mobilization. This would represent full readiness to protect their basic and vital life interests with all available means, because it is indisputable that now, after 73 years, the fate of these people is being resolved in the most dramatic way for the centuries to come.

[Mihajlovic] Did you invite anyone from the opposition to attend today's session?

[Kostic] We did not invite anyone from the opposition political parties, not even from the ruling parties. We invited the representatives of state organs. I expect that during the preparations for the republican assembly sessions and the sessions of the other territorial units, the leaderships of the assemblies and state leaderships in these communities will probably use the opportunity to meet with the most responsible representatives of all opposition political parties. Not only with those represented in the parliaments or in the assemblies of SAO of Krajinas, but also those who are not represented in the parliaments. The joint assessment of this meeting is that the national interest currently requires not only full mobilization, but also subordinating all partial, political, and other interests. We will have to protect the interests of the people for many years. Once we protect their interests, we will then create all conditions for more political pluralism and free activities of all political parties, something we have not, as you see, limited up to now either, even though, objectively speaking, we as the SFRY Presidency, on the basis of the Constitution and assessment of the situation of direct war danger, we could have taken many radical moves. These range from the replacement of certain organs, federal officials, to limiting the work of political parties. We in fact did not want to do anything that would in any way attach the label of putschists to those of us in the SFRY Presidency, something Mesic and Tudjman have persistently accused us of.

[Mihajlovic] What is the minimum? Is there anything new in this minimum demand with which you would go to The Hague again?

[Kostic] As far as the SFRY Presidency is concerned, we have already defined our positions and starting points for the future organization and resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and have sent them to the conference and Lord Carrington. We said that we would be prepared to go to The Hague only if this option of ours would be taken into consideration, that is to say, if we were also given a chance to present our views there. If we were to be prevented from doing that, then there would indeed be no sense in going to The Hague just to appear on television there.

Today, we received a letter from Lord Carrington, which he sent to President Mesic, and a copy to me. In this letter he expresses the wish to see all eight members of the Presidency at the conference in The Hague. He did not miss the opportunity either to say that the only possibility of meeting there is if all eight of us attend.

We have convened a session of the SFRY Presidency for tomorrow, here in Belgrade, at which we will try to define this platform. If these dissidents again fail to come and do not attend the session, then it is obvious, and this is the view of Lord Carrington too, that we would not go there either.

[Mihajlovic] Finally, do you think that we have come dangerously close to total war, more dangerously than 10 days ago?

[Kostic] Unfortunately, I must say that we are coming closer and closer to total war, or perhaps not total war, but a total clash with the Croatian armed forces.

You see, so far we have concluded 10 cease-fire agreements. Franjo Tudjman has put his signature on these agreements six times. The agreements envisaged immediate and unconditional lifting of blockades on all of our barracks in Croatia. He has not kept his word, however, on one single occasion. He took this responsibility upon himself at the conference in The Hague on 4 October. Instead of lifting the blockade on the barracks, on 6 October he issued the order on general mobilization in Croatia. On 18 October, at the last session, we all signed the agreement again, and he again assumed the responsibility concerning the unconditional and immediate lifting of blockades of the barracks in Croatia.

His demand that the lifting of blockades be made conditional upon the lifting of blockades on ports, air space, traffic routes, cities, and so forth was rejected in The Hague by Lord Carrington and van den Broek, and by all of us. The text of the declaration that was issued to the

public was accepted. Despite all this, by issuing the order and acting accordingly, he set forth all these conditions again.

Therefore, I am afraid that we are indeed coming closer and closer to a general and total clash with the Croatian armed forces. If these people, however, whose representatives were here today, show readiness and flexibility, if they show that they are ready to defend their vital interests and their vital national interests, regardless of what borders and what segments of the population are endangered, I think that after everything that has happened, such flexibility is the only possible chance to finally persuade Tudjman. Instead of using force and finally accepting the EC initiatives peacefully, we can jointly find satisfactory solutions for everyone at the peace conference in The Hague. These would be solutions that would not put the people who represent half of Yugoslavia in a less favorable position, but those people who did not have their own states before entering Yugoslavia, solutions that would enable those people to live together if they want to, not depriving anybody else of the right to separate from this community.

Any other solution, and this includes a union of sovereign republics, any other solution that would force these people to live as a national minority in several state communities and remain only as the nation in the mother republic, can obviously not be a permanent and peaceful solution.

[Mihajlovic] What political concessions would you make to avoid total war?

[Kostic] I personally would be prepared to make many concessions. I would not abandon three demands at any price, however: A completely secure and guaranteed status for the legal and physical safety of the Serbian people in Croatia, this is the first demand. Second, I could not, especially holding the post of vice president of the SFRY Presidency, accept any solution that would mean extinguishing Yugoslavia and erasing Yugoslavia from the political map of the Balkans, Europe, and the world, regardless of the fact that the solutions offered by The Hague could be solutions, provided that they are sought in the country and in a legitimate and legal way. Finally, I could not accept and agree with the present border on Prevlaka remaining as it is. This would mean that Montenegro would not have sovereignty over Boka Kotorska. This means that Montenegro would not have sovereignty as a republic within a future community.

Conflict Threatens Imminent Economic Collapse

LD2410133991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 24 (TANJUG)—The latest figures and economic forecasts in Yugoslavia say that an economic collapse is imminent in the country and if armed conflicts continue in November and December, there could be hunger in the war-stricken regions.

Since the beginning of the year, the deficit in Yugoslavia's budget has exceeded 20 billion dollars and the National Bank of Yugoslavia is trying to compensate for this by a major increase in the primary issue of money.

There has been a drop in exports and a stagnation in imports, so that the four-billion-dollar foreign trade deficit is nearing the 1979 record figure.

The inflow of remittance from workers abroad and tourism is the lowest since 1965 and the inflow of foreign capital has nearly stopped in the past year because Yugoslavia has become a country of high political risk.

At the same time, the country is faced with the biggest outflow of domestic capital and the greatest war damages in its history, and the total damages are estimated at some 25 billion dollars.

Experts of the Economic Institute of Belgrade say that this year's gross national product will drop from some 70 to around 45 billion dollars.

In 1990, Yugoslavia lost markets in the developing countries, especially in Iraq, and this year, some markets in the former member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

A 18-percent drop in production in the first nine months of 1991 was followed by lay-offs, bankruptcies, liquidations as well as a drop in the value of wages and salaries in real terms.

The possibility of a devastating hyperinflation is highly likely early in 1992.

Had there not been a war in Yugoslavia, the federal government had envisaged the opening of 300,000 new jobs in 1991 through privatization and boom, just as in 1989. However, the war resulted in 300,000 lay-offs and an unemployment figure of some 1.8 million.

If another 500,000 people are laid-off in the next few months, no one will be able to supress the outburst of revolt and chaos.

Generals Tus, Stipetic Stripped of Rank

LD2410175291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 24 October, (TANJUG)—The information service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense announced today that, following its carrying out of the procedure stipulated by the Law on Service in the Armed Forces of 22 October 1991, the disciplinary court martial has meted out its punishment by stripping Colonel General Antun Tus and Major General Petar Stipetic of their rank. As is known, they abandoned their positions in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA], joined Croatia's farmed formations and took up top positions at the high command of the Croatian army.

Since the end of June YPA disciplinary courts martial have so far pronounced legally binding sentences on 98

officers who abandoned their positions or severely transgressed in any other way against YPA officers' duties and obligations in the course of events in Croatia and Slovenia. Following the implementation of these sentences, all those who have been condemned cease to be officers of the SFRY armed forces and cannot use the markings and title of their former rank. Military legislative and other YPA competent organs have also taken measures to establish the responsibility of some other members of the Army who have committed identical or similar acts.

Slovenia

Croatia Pays Debts With 'Illegal' Currency

LD2410110791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Many firms in Croatia recently paid their debts to Slovenia in dinars. Overnight, so to speak, the payees received sums totaling about 2 billion dinars, which are no longer legal tender in Slovenia.

Dusan Sesok, the Slovene republican finance minister, assessed this Croatian Government decision as "An attempted raid on the Slovene monetary system coming from where it had not been expected." First reactions to the dinar payments, instead of the hoped-for foreign currency or other payments, also stress that the "Croatian National Bank is behaving like a commercial bank, and by introducing dinars into Slovenia it is trying to devalue the vouchers, the so- called tolars."

The Slovene Government has asked the Croatian Government to explain who initiated this "quite unfair move."

Reportage on YPA Troop Withdrawals

1,000 Soldiers Leave Galeb

LD2410095391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Shortly before 0600 this morning the ship Galeb sailed into Koper port. Later today, the ship will pick up about 1,000 soldiers of the Yugoslav Army, who under an agreement must withdraw from Slovenia completely by tomorrow.

Unlike previous occasions, the arrival of Galeb at the port this morning proceeded without any problems.

A meeting will be held in Ljubljana this morning between representatives of Slovenia and a commission of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense to discuss the supervision of the withdrawal.

Army Vehicles Leaves Maribor

AU2410214891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The last column of the Yugoslav Army vehicles left Maribor at 1340 [1240 GMT]. They have set off toward Koper from where they will be transported by ferry to Bar. On this occasion, Colonel Projar, deputy commander of the Maribor Corps, through Maribor Radio, read the Army's farewell message as well as the message by Major General Mico Delic, commander of this corps, who left Maribor this morning.

The former Federal Army is withdrawing from Ljubljana as well. The authorized units of the Territorial Defense have taken over almost all military installations in the town. The only exceptions are the 4 July Barracks on Metelkova Street, and the Brotherhood and Unity Barracks in Polje. In both barracks there are less than 200 soldiers, and as we have learned unofficially, they will leave the barracks today, or tomorrow at the latest.

The Territorial Defense has already taken over the Krim relay station. Therefore, all important installations in the Ljubljana area are now in the hands of the Slovene state.

According to the latest information, the Army will leave the Cerklje Upon Krka Air Base for good tomorrow morning. Irena Majce has more details:

[Begin Majce recording] After the commission of the 25th Regional Headquarters of the Posavje Territorial Defense took over all installations and the remaining fixed assets at the Cerklje Upon Krka Air Base yesterday, the Yugoslav Army today continued handing over the vehicles belonging to the base and the 160 vehicles that were brought to the air base from other Army barracks. The last 200 members of the Army will leave Cerklje during the night. Originally it was said that they would leave around midnight, however the latest information claims that they will leave tomorrow morning. They will take 30 trucks and buses with them, which will supposedly be a part of the agreed contingent of 200 vehicles. They will attach officers' personal vehicles to the column that was formed at the air base early this morning. Everybody at the base is convinced that they are departing for Banja Luka.

The commissions of the Territorial Defense and of the Yugoslav Army today continued with clearing the eastern side of the complex, measuring 500 hectares, of mines and has mostly finished removing the mines. Let me emphasize once again that the entire runway and landing strip has been cleared of mines and there is no danger that it might blow up. Some mine fields that are too dangerous to be cleared by hand will have to wait for removal by (?machine); therefore, they have been marked with yellow ribbons. We again advise the residents of nearby villages to stay away from them. The areas marked with yellow ribbons are also situated outside the air base fence, although Vice Colonel Stojko Zivcevic, the last commander of this air base, which is a

military air base for the last day, two days ago still claimed that there were no Army mines outside the air base. [end recording]

Croatia

Tudjman Wants Adherence to 18 Oct Agreements

LD2510004591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] At the 18 October plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia, five Yugoslav republics adopted principles for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

This is stated in a letter sent by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman sent to world statesmen, including U.S. President Bush; Soviet President Gorbachev; Russian President Yeltsin; Van den Broek, chairman of the EC Council of Ministers; Lord Carrington, chairman of The Hague conference; Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary-general's envoy; and the heads of state and government or foreign ministers of Austria, France, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain.

The letter emphasizes:

At the 18 October session of the conference on Yugoslavia, five Yugoslav republics accepted the principles for resolving Yugoslavia's crisis put forward by the EC and also supported by the United States and the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the Serbian bloc in the Federal Presidency and the top military brass declined these solutions yesterday, arguing that they will lead, in effect, to disaster.

The EC is accused of dismantling Yugoslavia and threatening the unity and interests of the Serbian people while Germany is accused of attacking our country for the third time in this century. In General Kadijevic's words, Yugoslavia, in its present form, is fading away but the Yugoslav Army is transforming itself in the process into the army of a state that will be preserved from what remains of Yugoslavia. According to the view of the General Staff Supreme Command, the time has come when certain decisive political and military measures must clearly be taken. This is why Gen. Kadijevic is suggesting that the Army's reserves should be immediately mobilized in accordance with the operational needs of the Yugoslav Army and that, quote, extensive operations should be immediately launched by deploying all the means at our disposal, unquoted.

It is obviously high time for the international community to take effective measures against Yugoslavia's putsch-minded top brass in order to force them into accepting political solutions and to stop the war of conquest being waged against Croatia. This war is still claiming hundreds of new casualties and causing new destruction, even including a monument-town such as Dubrovnik. Yugoslav institutions no longer exist, hence it is pointless to negotiate with the putschists who have appropriated their legitimacy. The international community must conclude this and declare Yugoslavia to be nonexistent as an international entitety and recognize the diplomatic identity of its republics. The principles adopted at The Hague need to be articulated in more concrete terms, including military measures.

Any hesitation spreads the war to other republics and—given Gen. Kadijevic's threats—to European countries.

Croats Appeal to Lord Carrington on Cease-Fire

LD2510014991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Franjo Greguric, head of the Croatian government, has sent a letter to Lord Carrington, the chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia. In it he calls on Lord Carrington to lend his authority to the implementation of the cease-fire agreements of 4, 10, and 18 October on the withdrawal of the Army from Croatia.

Unfortunately, the Croatian government has to state that the Army, the Republic of Serbia, and the Republic of Montenegro do not respect any cease-fire agreement and that they take advantage of every cessation of activities by the Croatian army to regroup and send in fresh units and weapons in order to continue their offensive activities and occupation of the Republic of Croatia. Because of Dubrovnik, Vukovar, and the many other places in the Republic of Croatia where the Army is shamelessly and ruthlessly violating the obligations it has assumed, destroying human lives and causing material damage, Greguric appeals to Lord Carrington to advocate—prior to beginning the debate on future relations between the sovereign and independent republics, Yugoslavia's ex-states—that an agreement should be reached that would guarantee a cease-fire, the full withdrawal of the Army from Croatia within a set time, and the peaceful establishment of a new legal status in terms of statehood for these lands.

Assault on Kupari Forces; Croatian Army Retreat

LD2410124491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] An enemy sea-borne assault was carried out this morning on Kupari in Zupa Dubrovacka. It is not yet known how strong these enemy units are, but they are being aided by more arriving by tank and in armored transporters from the direction of Cavtat. The Croatian Army, numerically and technically considerably weaker, is retreating to more advantageous positions. The occupying infantry is supported by ships of the Navy. Apart from this, the enemy is directing cannon fire on Ivanica, in the neighboring Trebinje municipality. The assault was preceded by heavy cannon fire from sea and land on all positions of the Croatian Army. Powerful explosions are shaking the walls of the old town. The enemy army is within reach of Dubac, just few kilometers east of the entrance to Dubrovnik.

Federal, Serb Artillery Attacks Sisak Industrial Zone

LD2410134691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Sisak and its southern industrial zone was attacked by Yugoslav and Serbian artillery today before noon. The sirens for general danger were immediately sounded, and no information is available at this time concerning casualties and damage.

Later, at 1315, enemy aircraft flew over the town, and one dropped its payload in the area. No specific information is available concerning damage. In the Karlovac Duga Resa area enemy attacks have been going on day and night. According to medical authorities in the area, there have been 10 new casualties.

Army Troops Return Croat Fire in Vukovar Area

[Report by Mirko Stankovic]

AU2410145091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Last night, the Croatian forces deployed in the village of Nustar, near Vinkovci, launched a mortar attack on the village of Ostrovo, which is mainly populated by Serbs. Members of the Territorial Defense controlling the villages in eastern Slavonia have consistently respected the 10th truce agreement. The Army launched fierce mortar and artillery attacks on enemy positions in response to armed provocations and the attack on the Vukovar barracks. Mirko Stankovic reports:

[Begin Stankovic recording] People in the Vukovar region have not talked about peace for days, because armed clashes are being fought almost continuously. Mortar duels have been waged continuously since the day when the 10th agreement on an unconditional cease-fire was signed. They only vary in terms of intensity. The enemy cannot bring itself to stop fighting and respect the agreement. Provocations are happening daily. Their targets are positions and barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army in Vukovar.

The Army can no longer remain indifferent and let Croats shoot at the soldiers and their property. Therefore, the Army is returning increasingly fierce fire from all available weapons. This is what happened last night when the barracks and positions of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense came under mortar attack. The Army responded with mortars, guns, howitzers, and multiple rocket launchers.

The Army shelled the well-known enemy strongholds in the region of Olajnica, Rupe, and around [name indistinct], from where fire was directed at the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense. Members of the Territorial Defense were in the action too. They carried out mopping-up operations in some parts of the newly-conquered areas of the upper part of the town.

On several occasions the enemy used the hospital grounds for battlefields, from which it fired mortar projectiles. For this reason this area was attacked by the Army. Last night mopping-up operations were also conducted around Ilok, Tovarnik and some other places where routed members of the Croatian National Guard are hiding. According to initial information, about 10 members of paramilitary units were liquidated.

Artillery and mortar fire continues in Vukovar with unchanging intensity.

Serb Region Unites With Other Serb Regions

AU2410153191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Slavko Pusic]

[Text] At its extraordinary session held in Beli Manastir, the Great National Assembly of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem adopted a declaration on unification with the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and the community of communes of Bosanska Krajina. The Assembly has adopted all of the starting bases issued by the SFRY Presidency for solving the state-political crisis, as well as the recent statement by General Kadijevic. Here is a report by Slavko Pusic:

[Begin Pusic recording] Expounding on the declaration on unification with the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and the community of communes of Bosanska Krajina, Ilija Koncarevic, president of the Great National Assembly, said that in this way a unified political and territorial whole has been formed. This community of three Serbian regions will be a full political-legal subject and will have full sovereignty in making decisions concerning the character of links with other peoples on the territory of Yugoslavia. Organs of power will be constituted by a special decision. The declaration on unification, Koncarevic pointed out, represents a political act because it represents the will of the Serbian people from these three regions to live together. It also represents the legal and political basis of cooperation in the spheres of politics, economy, culture, health, social policy, education, territorial defense, internal affairs, and traffic and communications.

The Great National Assembly of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem today also adopted all of the SFRY Presidency starting bases for solving the state-political crisis, as well as the recent statement by Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense. In this respect, Goran Hadzic, president of the region's government suggested—and this was adopted—that general mobilization should be announced and that the problem of Serbs in Croatia should be solved in a military way, because all agreements reached and truces concluded so far have been violated by Croatia.

The Assembly has also sent an energetic demand to the Assembly and Government of the Republic of Serbia to take urgent measures on dismissing from jobs and mobilizing all male refugees between 20 and 60 years of age who are capable of fighting within 48 hours.

The Assembly has also obliged the government and its representatives that in future talks no documents should be signed in which it is not clearly seen that the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem does not belong to the Republic of Croatia. [end recording]

Attacks Cause Heavy Damage in Sisak

LD2410182291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] With regard to the events in and around Sisak, the most telling fact is that the people of Sisak are still in their shelters. This is necessitated by gunfire from heavy artillery from the direction of Petrinja aimed at the town itself and its industrial zone, assisted by the enemy air force. The impact of the enemy is evidenced by the large number of destroyed or damaged civilian buildings, which include, according to unofficial sources, medical facilities and schools. Up to now 28 casualties have been taken to the Sisak hospital, many of whom are civilians. They include, unfortunately, seriously wounded and also, we are learning, fatalities. In view of the present situation the people of Sisak are still being advised not to leave their shelters.

In a fresh criminal sortie, enemy aircraft dropped their payload on the village of Greda, and these were clearly cluster bombs, as a result of which several people were wounded and considerable material damage inflicted. Of course, the enemy, or occupation army, is not forgetting Komarevo, Moscenica, Brest, Vurot, and Letovanic, which are constantly under attack, but these are all being successfully repulsed by the Croatian Army. In the process a considerable amount of the occupation army's equipment has been destroyed or captured, and according to reliable sources, two aircraft have been downed. [passage omitted]

Status of Croatian Refugees Reported 22 Oct

LD2410093191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] The Croatian Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare issued a statement today saying that there are almost 320,000 Croatian refugees. Over 156,000 are in Croatia; about 66,000 in Serbia; 15,000 in Bosnia; 22,000 in Slovenia; 35,000 in Hungary; and over 4,000 in Austria. Most refugees are from areas in eastern Slavonia. Nineteen thousand people have fled from Osijek and the surrounding areas; 17,000 from Vukovar; 13,000 from Vinkovci; and about 10,000 from Beli Manastir.

Serbia

Serbian Parliament Rejects EC Proposals

LD2410200191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1904 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 24 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Republic of Serbia this evening rejected the European Community's new proposal for dealing with the Yugoslav crisis, TANJUG learns from unofficial sources.

According to initial reports, at its closed-door session today, parliament assessed the second proposal of The Hague conference on peace for Yugoslavia as even more restrictive than the first which the Serbian parliament unanimously rejected last week.

The new E.C. document again makes virtually no mention of Yugoslavia, which indicates that Europe persists in its effort to completely destroy the country, it was heard at the session.

This only proves that the E.C. takes no heed of international law and the provisions of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which is setting a precedent in international reltions, it was also heard.

The Republic of Serbia is the only one of the six Yugoslav republics to have rejected the original E.C. proposal in The Hague on October 18, with the explanation that it was abolishing the sovereign state of Yugoslavia by a decree from outside.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic invoked the right of nations and not of republics to self-determination and stressed that the fate of Yugoslavia would be decided in the country, taking into account the freely-expressed will of the people who had created it.

The new proposal for resolving the Yugoslav crisis is to be discussed at The Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia tomorrow. It envisages for recognizing as sovereign states the republics which want to be sovereign, "unless a different agreement should be reached", and for autonomy for individual ethnic communities.

As for the political institutions, it envisages for cooperation within several councils and, in the economic sphere, leaves the door open to closer monetary ties, in addition to a tariff union.

Sandzak Muslims To Go Ahead With Referendum

AU2410164791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Rade Veljanovski]

[Text] The Muslim National Council of Sandzak is not giving up the idea of a referendum on autonomy scheduled to start on 25 October and last for three days. This was stated by Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the Party of

Democratic Action for Serbia, at a news conference in Novi Pazar. Rade Veljanovski reports:

[Veljanovski] Despite yesterday's de facto ban, as Rasim Ljajic said, and the threat of sanctions against the organizers of the referendum, the Serbian Assembly session held yesterday convinced us of the correctness of our decision. This is how yesterday's discussion in the Serbian Assembly session was assessed today at a news conference. Here is what Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia, said about the essence of the referendum due to start tomorrow and last three days:

[Begin Ljajic recording] The referendum that has been called in no way represents a unilateral act or the secession of this part of Serbia and Montenegro, nor does it imply the alteration of internal borders. With this referendum, we wanted to prove and show the political will of Muslims and all other citizens of Sandzak, and, above all, to enable them to express it. [end recording]

If our demands are not understood in Yugoslavia, we will approach international factors, Ljajic said. Answering journalists' questions, he said that Sulejman Ugljanin has left for The Hague as president of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak in order to demand for Muslims in Serbia and Montenegro what Serbs are demanding in Croatia.

If repression takes place during the referendum and if attempts are made to confiscate ballot boxes and ballot papers, we will not respond to repression, and the referendum will be continued at peoples' homes, Ljajic said.

Journalists were also informed that the organizers of the referendum have also invited representatives of international organizations to observe the referendum. All Muslims who live outside Sandzak, in Yugoslavia and outside Yugoslavia, and who are originally from Sandzak, were sent ballot papers. However, the results of the referendum will include only the vote of those who have permanent residence in the towns and villages of Sandzak.

The question that will appear on the ballot paper will read: Are you in favor of the full autonomy of Sandzak and possible accession to one of the republics? The curiosity of journalists about which republic Sandzak could join was not satisfied. It was said only that the people would decide on it at a plebiscite, when the time was ripe.

In addition to the information presented at the news conference, we would like to say that a document entitled Status of the Autonomous Region of Sandzak, which was revealed more than a month ago, envisages the autonomy of Novi Pazar, Nova Varos, Priboj, Sjenica, Tutin, Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje, Petnjica, Rozaj, Plav, and Prijepolje.

The situation in Novi Pazar and the area is quiet at present. Security has been slightly increased. Notices inviting people to vote in the referendum were seen at only a few places.

Elections Postponed Until Situation 'Calmer'

LD2410144491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Local elections in Serbia, originally scheduled for 10 November, have been postponed until the situation becomes somewhat calmer.

The decision was made by the Serbian Assembly today while this body was adopting appropriate changes to the constitutional law.

The motive behind this move is the fact that many citizens of Serbia are engaged on Croatian battlefields, and would thus not be able to take part in either the elections or the election campaign.

Assembly Debates 5-Point Star as State Symbol

[Report by Milorad Jovic]

AU2410120991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The National Assembly of Serbia is meeting today in Belgrade. Let us hear from our reporter Milorad Jovic:

[Jovic] A debate is under way on scheduling a republican referendum on prior decision by citizens on state symbols.

This morning, the deputies discussed Batric Jovanovic's proposal to temporarily remove the five-point star from the republican flag until the referendum. There was controversy about this proposal. Some deputies thought that there is no constitutional basis for this decision but some were of an opposite opinion and, moreover, thought that it is necessary to remove the ideological symbol as soon as possible from the flag. Batric's proposal was nevertheless not adopted. There were 66 votes in favor of it and a two-thirds majority is needed for it to pass, that is to say 166 votes.

This was followed by a debate on the procedure for citizens' prior vote on a republican referendum on state symbols. After a short debate, the parliament adopted this act so that before the referendum at which the three state symbols will be presented separately, the citizens of Serbia will choose each of the three symbols from several possibilities.

We have learned that after the recess this afternoon, the Assembly will continue its work behind closed doors with a debate on the stands that will be represented at The Hague tomorrow at the conference on Yugoslavia.

This is all from the Assembly. We will continue the live relay of the debate after the newscast.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Reportage on Fighting in Dubrovnik

Attempted Landing Fails

LD2410100491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] According to the latest reports, an attempted landing operation by the occupying army in Zupa Dubrovacka has failed. Three assault ships of the occupying navy have been withdrawn in the direction of Cavtat, but a large number of aggressor's war ships still remain in the waters off Dubrovnik.

From its gunboats in the waters off the Old Town, the enemy forces have been shelling the island of Lokrum and the area above the Dubrovnik suburb of Zlatni Potok. Shell splinters have been landing on the Belvedere Hotel. Brgat and Zupa Dubrovacka continue to be pounded with ferocious artillery fire from recoilless guns and multi-rocket launchers.

Croatian defenders continue to hold their positions, as well as the Petraca-Mlini line. The population of Dubrovnik is still in shelters. There is still no water, electricity, or any communications with the outside world.

EC Monitor Confirms Shelling

LD2410102291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0907 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Simon Smiths, the spokesperson for the EC monitoring mission, spoke today for Croatian radio about the attack on Dubrovnik and the plans for the EC mission:

[Begin Smith recording] Of course, the main news centers on Dubrovnik. We don't yet have a report from our team this morning. We hope to get it within an hour. But we got confirmations from our team yesterday night, around 1830, that there was shelling from the sea, maybe also from the land, and also that grenades were hitting the old center of town.

As to what we will do today, of course, it will be top priority to get ahold of our team in Dubrovnik in order to establish exactly what is going on and what the extent of the damage is; and we will have one team on the Slavija ferry. We will try to get one team from Split on the Slavija ferry to Dubrovnik when safety permits. That is really, of course, the most important point and also the bad news.

Furthermore we have reports from our teams that Split and Zadar are being calm.

This afternoon we will reconvene at 1500 hours and, well, you can imagine that the main topic on the agenda will be Dubrovnik. And by then we hope to have a factual report of exactly what has happened. Furthermore, I will see this morning some of the students that were here yesterday to talk to us about the situation in Dubrovnik and, of course, we will try to establish contacts and let them know what is going on.

But yesterday night we were not successful because it was extremely difficult to get through. All the lines were occupied.

Croatian Forces Retreating

LD2410111691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The aggressor army's landing operation in Zupa Dubrovacka this morning was successful after all, the Dubrovnik defense command has announced. The enemy forces have entered Kupari. With support from fierce artillery fire, recoilless guns and multiple rocket launchers, the aggressor has been deploying tank and transport units into the fighting in Zupa Dubrovacka. Exposed to the fierce artillery fire from gunboats and from the terrorists' positions at Ivanica and (?Pobrezje), Croatian defense forces are retreating to avoid being cut off in Zupa Dubrovacka.

Dubrovnik is in great danger of total destruction and potentially huge civilian casualties in the light of the aggressor's continued pounding from sea and land of the very center of the town. Shortly after 0800 this morning, just outside Dubrovnik port, the aggressor's navy warships turned back the ship Slavija, which was carrying humanitarian aid for Dubrovnik, as well as a speed boat with a delegation of French academicians and politicians with humanitarian aid. The people are in shelters, and constant denotations have been shaking the old town.

Army Denies Shelling

LD2410150191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Lieutenant-Colonel Radoslav Svicevic today denied that the Yugoslav army had bombed Dubrovnik.

"The Croatian information media reported that a music school had been hit, this is the best illustration of their perfidiousness," Lieutenant-Colonel Radoslav Svicevic said adding that it was precisley by using such propaganda—that the Army is hitting schools, hospitals, the old city and the like—that it wants to compromise the Army in the eyes of the domestic and world public.

Captain Milan Zec, currently stationed in Plat, said that the Army received strict orders not to hit the old city of Dubrovnik. However, he added, there was an explosion in the old city, which was seen from army positions, but it is not known what that was. It is uncertain for the time being whether this is the beginning of the diabolical Ustasha plan to mine the old city and then accuse the Army of doing it, said Captain Zec.

The Boka naval sector also reacted to the information on the Army's alleged artillery attack on Dubrovnik. In its

communique it stressed that the Army did not use a single mine and that all this, it said, "were lies and fabrications launched by the Dubrovnik leadership."

YPA Officer on Shelling

LD2510123791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1156 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Trebinje, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—Colonel Savo Lukic, deputy commander of the Yugoslav Army's operative group for Hercegovina, said in Trebinje today that Dubrovnik was not the target of Yugoslav Army artillery attacks.

Colonel Lukic categorically denied reports that grenades fell in the very center of the walled old city of Dubrovnik.

Colonel Lukic said that orders were repeated to units in the area that Dubrovnik must not be the target of attacks.

He said that last night's broadcast by Croatian television on the situation in Dubrovnik's streets was 'even more unconvincing than the picture of the presidential palace Banski Dvori in Zagreb recently which tried to show how it had been rocketed.'

Based on the damaged building in the main street, broken windows and slightly damaged pavements shown in the filmed report, one could clearly see that they were not the result of artillery fire, Colonel Lukic said.

The army has information that individual locations in the old part of the city of Dubrovnik are being used for carrying out artillery attacks, Colonel Lukic said.

He added that the best indication of how much Croatian Interior Ministry and National Guard forces cared about the preservation of the cultural riches was best shown by the fact that Lokrum, an island off Dubrovnik whose botanical garden is under UNESCO's protection, is being used as a base for attacks on Yugoslav Army units.

Asked to comment the situation in the battlefield around Dubrovnik, Colonel Lukic briefly said 'the army is holding the positions which suit it.'

Confusion over Dubrovnik 'Cease-Fire'

LD2410203391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Zagreb, Dubrovnik, Osijek, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—An agreement on a cease-fire in the area of Dubrovnik was reached today between the Croatian and Army authorities, it has been announced in Zagreb in EC observer mission circles.

The agreement was reached in the EC observer mission in Zagreb by deputy commander of the Fifth Military District, General Andrija Raseta, and member of the supreme command of the Croatian forces, Colonel Imre Agotic.

It was agreed that the cease-fire should begin in the area of Dubrovnik at 1700 [1600 GMT] today. Both sides, it was announced, have given instructions for the cease-fire.

TANJUG's correspondent in Dubrovnik reports, however, that in the vicinity of the town firing could be heard up to 1800. In the town there is no news of the meeting announced for this afternoon in Cavtat between the president of the Dubrovnik municipality and representatives of the Army authorities.

The army authorities have not yet announced anything about an agreement on a cease-fire in Dubrovnik. There are no reliable reports, either, as to whether the shooting which could be heard this evening was only the result of sporadic skirmishes or whether the agreed cease-fire was being seriously violated.

Belgrade Television in this evening's news program did not mention the cease-fire agreed in Zagreb. A television reporter, quoting Army sources on the Dubrovnik front, reported that the Croatian side was calling for a cease-fired, and had received the reply that this would happen "when the Ustasha combatants lay down their arms." [passage omitted]

Serbian Deputies Create Serbian Assembly in Bosnia

LD2410192991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1842 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Serbian deputies in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina this evening constituted the Assembly of the Serbian Nation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This decision, which was adopted unanimously, comes into force immediately.

At the opening of the meeting, the chairman of the club of Serbian deputies in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, Vojislav Maksimovic, stressed that this was a historic moment for the Serbian nation in this republic.

In the introductory speech at the meeting, which was relayed live by Sarajevo Television from the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the President of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, Momcilo Krajisnik cited on behalf of the Serbian deputies—the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina [Srpska Demokratska Stranka] and the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove]—the reasons for the formation of a Serbian Assembly. He stressed that the basic reason lies in the serious attempt to destroy the national sovereignty of the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and its constitutional-legal position in Yugoslavia, thereby threatening its survival on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina [sentence as received]. More precisely, Krajisnik said, the purpose of the constitution of the Assembly of the Serbian Nation in Bosnia- Hercegovina is for this nation, through the highest institution of legislative power, to take its fate into its own hands. This

means, primarily, that the Serbian nation should remain in the joint state of Yugoslavia.

Krajisnik also stressed that the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] and Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica] unconstitutionally and illegally adopted the act, which has no legal effect, on the independence and sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At today's meeting the president of the assembly will be elected and a decision taken on the plebiscite of the Serbian nation on remaining in Yugoslavia, and other necessary acts.

Bosnia Serbs To Hold Plebiscite

LD2410213591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The first Assembly of the Serbian Nation of Bosnia-Hercegovina decided tonight to hold a plebiscite of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina on November 9 and 19 this year. In the plebiscite, the Serbian people will clarify whether they want to stay in the common state of Yugoslavia together with Serbia, Montenegro, and the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonija, Baranja and western Srem, as well as other places which wish to do so.

The Assembly also decided that the Serbian people will be represented in The Hague by Nikola Koljevic, in international contacts by Biljana Plavsic, in the SFRY presidency by Radovan Karadzic, in the SFRY Assembly by Milutin Najdanovic, and in the Federal Executive Council by Miodrag Simovic. The assembly withdrew the right of the present representatives to represent the Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

As regards the relations with the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, it was decided, among other things, that the Serbian deputies should only participate in the work of the Assembly chambers on the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Should the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina violate the interests of the Serbian people and the federal laws, as it has been doing up to now, the Assembly of the Serbian nation of Bosnia-Hercegovina will adopt decisions independently. It will recognize federal laws and republican acts that do not contravene the federal laws.

The Assembly also adopted a declaration which emphasizes that only its legitimate representatives can represent it in the country and abroad.

On the proposal of Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, an appeal was addressed to Montenegrins to maintain unity and solidarity.

Bosnia Serb Assembly Elects Leaders

LD2410145991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik is the first President of the Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was decided tonight at the session of the Assembly.

Milovan Milanovic and Branko Simic were elected vice presidents, while a third vice president will be elected from the ranks of the opposition parties.

All the above mentioned belong to the Serbian Democratic Party and the Serbian Renaissance Movement of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This means that one vacant place belongs to someone from the opposition parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Montenegro

Montenegrin Decision on Recalling Reservists

LD2410212491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro decided at this evening's session that a positive answer had not been received from the headquarters of the supreme command of the Armed Forces of the SFRY in response to the demand that two units of the Yugoslav People's Army made up of reservists from several Montenegrin municipalities, which were sent on Sunday to Dvor na Uni and beyond to battlefields in the Republic of Croatia, should be returned in an organized and military fashion to their barracks in Titograd and Danilovgrad.

The Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro, unable to do this in any other way, has sent a public call to all officers and soldiers of these two units who do not voluntarily wish to remain in that part of the battlefield, to return in an organized and military fashion to the barracks from which they came.